

PUBLICATIONS
of the
SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
of
SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

Managing Editor

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VOLUME III.

1916

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR BY THE SOCIETY
WITH THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE
AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION

URBANA, ILLINOIS, U. S. A.
ISSUED FREE TO MEMBERS
PRICE OF THIS VOLUME \$3.00

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The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

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PREFACE

It was at the suggestion of Professor John M. Manly that I took up the study which has resulted in the following dissertation, and from him I have received much encouragement and valuable assistance on numerous occasions. I have profited by suggestions received from Professor Tom Peete Cross and Professor James R. Hulbert; and Professor Chester N. Gould has been unstinting in his kindness in permitting me to draw on his knowledge of the Old Norse language and literature. In addition to the aid received from these gentlemen, professors in the University of Chicago, I have received bibliographical information and helpful suggestions from Professor Frederick Klaeber, of the University of Minnesota; I have been aided in various ways by Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois, particularly in preparing the manuscript for the press; and from others I have had assistance in reading proof. To all these gentlemen I am very grateful, and I take this opportunity to extend to them my sincere thanks.

ROBERT L. FRY
DETROIT, MICH.

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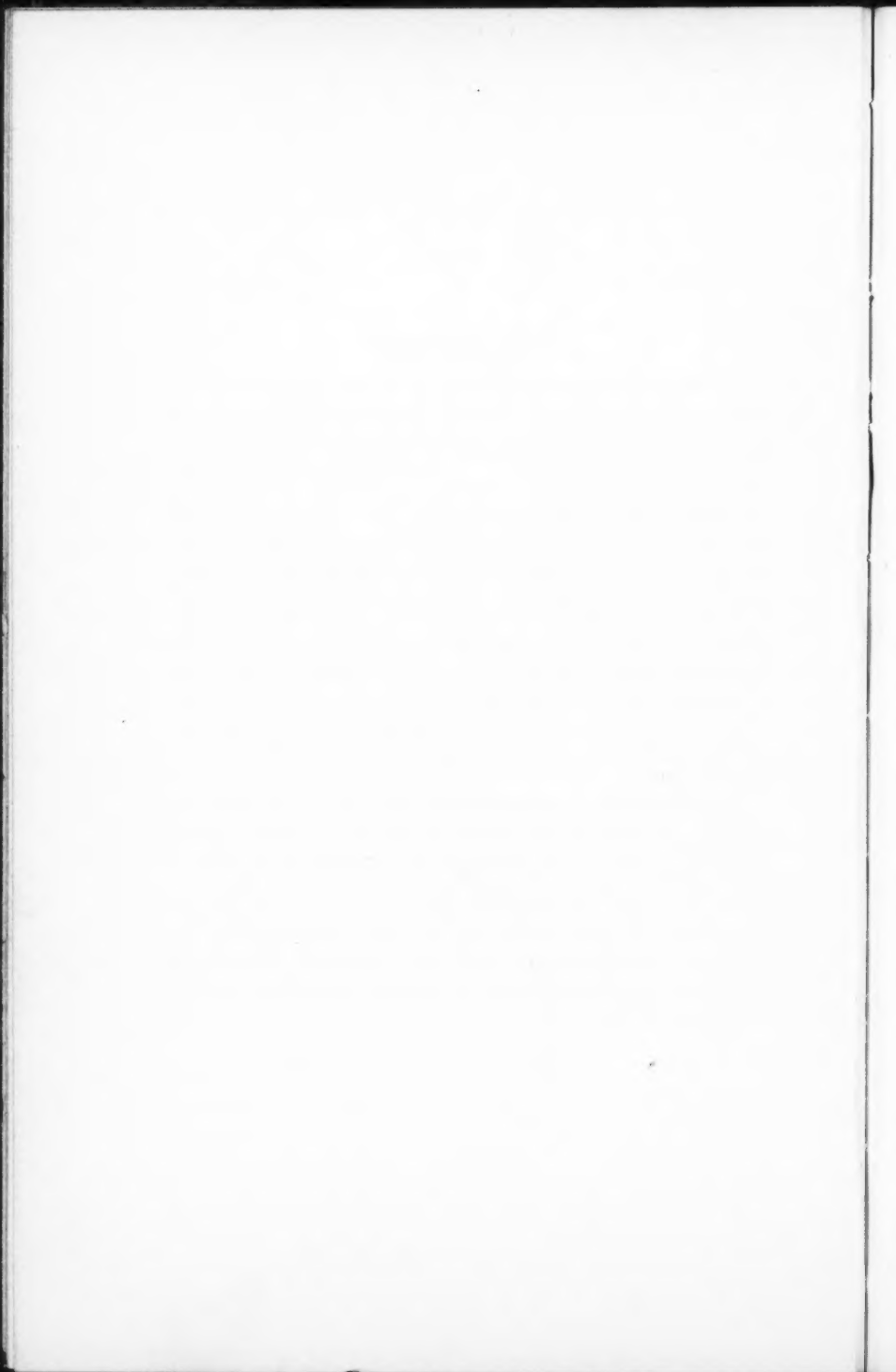
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INTRODUCTORY.

The following pages are the result of an investigation that has grown out of a study of *Beowulf*. The investigation has been prosecuted mainly with a view to ascertaining as definitely as possible the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon poem and the *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, and has involved special consideration of two portions of the saga, namely, the *Bǫðvarsþáttur*, and the *Fróðasþáttur*, and such portions of the early literature in England and the Scandinavian countries as seem to bear some relationship to the stories contained in these two portions of the saga. Some of the results achieved may seem to be outside the limits of the main theme. But they are not without value in this connection, for they throw light on the manner in which the *Hrólfs saga* and some of the other compositions in question came to assume the form in which we now find them. Thus these results assist us in determining the extent to which the saga and the *Bjarkartúnur* are related to *Beowulf*.

As the field under consideration has been the object of investigation by a number of scholars, much that otherwise would need to be explained to prepare the way for what is to be presented lies ready at hand, and this is used as a foundation on which to build further.

In order to give the reader who is interested in the subject, but has not made a special study of it, an idea of the problems involved, and the solutions that have been offered, the discussion is preceded by a brief summary of the principal conclusions reached by various scholars.



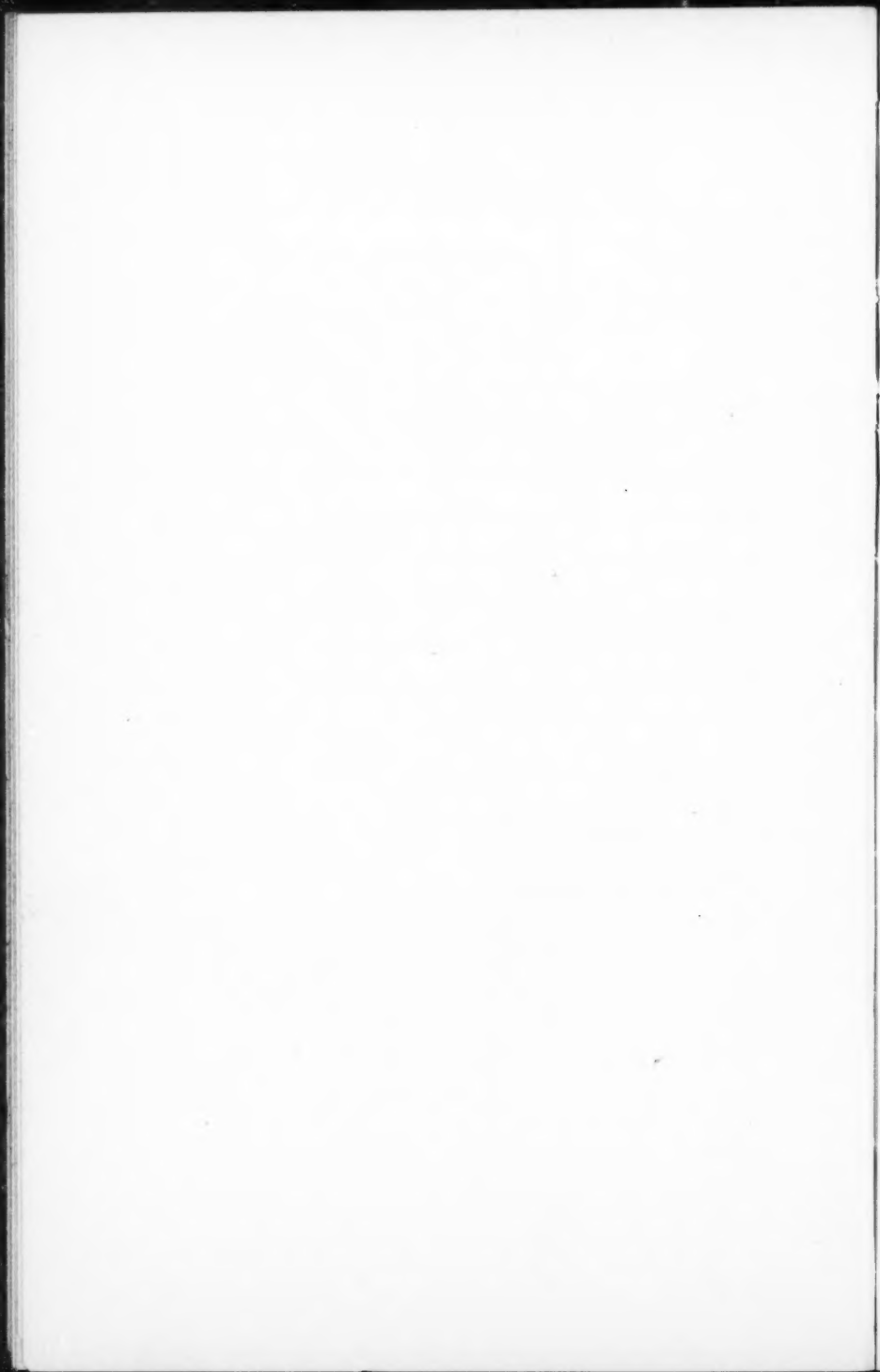
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Aarb.*—*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1894.
Ark.—*Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*.
Ang.—*Anglia*.
Ant. Tid.—*Antikvarisk Tidskrift*.
Beow.—*Beowulf*. The line numbering used is that of A. J. Wyatt's edition.
Beow., Child—*Beowulf and the Finnesburh Fragment*, translated by C. G. Child, 1904.
Beow. Stud.—*Beowulf-Studien*, by Gregor Sarrazin, 1888.
Beow. Unt. Ang.—*Beowulf, Untersuchungen*, by Bernhard ten Brink, 1888.
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THE RELATION OF THE HRÓLFSSAGA KRAKA AND THE BJARKARÍMUR TO BEOWULF.

I

BQÐVARSPÁTTTR.

The question whether Saxo Grammaticus' account of Biarco's fight with a bear or the account in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's fight with a winged monster is the earlier version of the story has been the subject of much discussion, as has also the possible identity of Bjarki's (Biarco's) exploit with one or both of Beowulf's exploits (his slaying of Grendel and the dragon). The latter problem is still further complicated by the introduction of two beasts in the *Bjarkarímur* where Saxo and the *Hrólfs saga* have only one, and the introduction in *Beowulf* of Grendel's mother, who makes her appearance in order to defend her offspring and also is slain.

In this dissertation an attempt will not be made to clear up the whole of this complicated matter. But an attempt will be made to solve some of the problems involved. It will be shown that the stories in the *Bjarkarímur* of the slaying of the wolf and the bear at the court of Hrofi Kraki¹ are based on the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of the slaying of the winged² monster. The explanation of the origin of the dragon and the interpretation of the whole dragon story in the *Hrólfs saga*, both of which have hitherto been wanting, will be given. From this it will be seen that this story in the *Hrólfs saga* is based on the story, related in the second book of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*³, of Bjarki's slaying the bear.

Earlier Opinions in Regard to the BQÐVARSPÁTTTR, the BJARKARÍMUR, and Related Matters.

Gisli Brynjulfsson, the first writer, apparently, to call attention to the similarity between Beowulf's combat with Grendel and Bjarki's combat with the winged monster, identified the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster with the story in *Beowulf* of Beowulf's fight with Grendel. That it was a sea-monster (havjætte) that caused the trouble in Denmark, while it was a mountain-troll that caused the trouble in Norway, he thought was as characteristic as anything could be.⁴

¹ For these portions of the *Bjarkarímur*, see pp. 47-48.

² For the story of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster, see pp. 20-22.

³ See p. 51.

⁴ *Ant. Tid.*, 1852-54, p. 130.

Gregor Sarrazin would identify Bjarki with Beowulf. He calls attention to striking similarities between the stories about the two men and attempts to identify the word "Bǫðvar," etymologically, with the word "Bēowulf." The translator, as he calls the author of *Beowulf*, may, through misconception, have regarded "var," the second part of the name "Bǫðvar," as "vargr" and translated it faithfully into AS. "wulf." This, combined with other changes, which he discusses and illustrates, that might have taken place in the name in its passage from very early Danish to Anglo-Saxon, could have caused the Scandinavian name "Bǫðvar" to be rendered "Bēowulf" in Anglo-Saxon.⁵

Sophus Bugge thought that saga-characteristics earlier ascribed to Beowulf had been transferred, in Danish tradition, to Bjarki. The story of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster he regarded as acquired from contact with the story of Beowulf's fight with the dragon. He showed that the words "Bǫðvar" and "Bēowulf" are not etymologically related, but that "Bǫðvar" is the genitive of "bǫð," meaning "battle," so that "Bǫðvar Bjarki" means "Battle Bjarki." He called attention to the fact that Saxo regarded Bothvar's real name as Bjarki (Lat. Biarco), that the *Bjarkamál* was called after that name, and, furthermore, that Saxo ascribed to Bjarki the words "belligeri cepi cognomen."⁶

Sarrazin regards the story of Bjarki's journey from Sweden to Denmark and subsequent exploit there, with which he identifies the corresponding journey and exploit of Beowulf, as an embodiment of the Balder and Frey cult. He thinks it may be interpreted as the southward journey of the sun in the autumn and its contest with frost and mists when it reaches its southern limit (i. e., Denmark, according to the ancient conception of the people of the Scandinavian peninsula); or it may be interpreted as the introduction of the Balder-culture from Sweden into Denmark.⁷

Bernhard ten Brink agreed with Karl Müllenhoff,⁸ that, on the one hand, there is really no similarity between the Beowulf story and Saxo's account of Bjarki, in which the blood-drinking episode is the main point, and, on the other, between Saxo's account and

⁵ *Ang.*, 1886, IX, pp. 198-201.

⁶ *P. B. B.*, 1887, XII, pp. 55-57.

⁷ *Beow. Stud.*, 1888, pp. 62-63.

⁸ *Beow. Unt. Ang.*, 1889, p. 55.

that in the *Hrólfs saga*, which has too much the nature of a fairy tale to be ancient tradition. He agreed with Bugge, that Bjarki's combat with the winged monster shows contact with the story of Beowulf's fight with the dragon.⁹

Sarrazin, replying to ten Brink, scouts the idea that a poem, such as *Beowulf*, which was completely unknown in England after the eleventh century, should, after this time, be well known in Scandinavian countries and exert a notable influence there.¹⁰

G. Binz does not think that Sarrazin's attempt to identify Bjarki with Beowulf is sufficiently substantiated and shows by a list of names,¹¹ dating from the twelfth century and found in the Northumbrian *Liber Vitae*, that the story about Bjarki was probably known at an early date in northern England.¹²

Sarrazin thinks that perhaps Beowulf married Freawaru, Hrothgar's daughter, as, similarly, Bjarki, according to the *Hrólfs saga*, married Drifa, the daughter of Hrothgar's nephew, Hrolf Kraki; that the troll which supports Hrolf Kraki's enemies in Hrolf's last battle is a reminiscence of the dragon in *Beowulf*; and that, owing to the change of taste and other causes that occurred in the course of time, the Beowulf story developed into the form in which it is found in the Bjarki story in the *Hrólfs saga*.¹³

Thomas Arnold concedes that there may be a faint connection between the Bjarki story and the Beowulf story, but he rejects Sarrazin's theory that the Anglo-Saxon poem is a translation from the Scandinavian (see p. 8).¹⁴

B. Symons takes the story of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster to be a fusion of the story of Beowulf's fight with Grendel and that of his fight with the dragon.¹⁵

R. C. Boer identifies Bjarki with Beaw. In the West-Saxon line of kings, Beaw succeeded Scyld; in the poem *Beowulf*, Beowulf, the Danish king, succeeded Scyld; in Saxo's account, Frothi I succeeded Scyld. Frothi is represented as having killed a dragon.

⁹ *Beow. Unt.*, 1888, pp. 185-88.

¹⁰ *Eng. Stud.*, 1892, XVI, p. 80.

¹¹ The list is "Osbern Thruwin Aeskitil Riculf Aeskyl Rikui Boduwar Berki Esel Petre Osbern."

¹² *P. B. B.*, 1895, XX, pp. 157-58.

¹³ *Eng. Stud.*, 1897, XXIII, pp. 243-46.

¹⁴ *Notes, Beow.*, 1898, p. 96.

¹⁵ *Grundr.*, 1898, III, p. 649.

According to the *Hrólfs saga*, Bjarki killed a dragon. As Beow in one account occupies the same position in the royal line as Frothi in another and Beowulf, the Dane, in a third, Boer thinks that Bjarki's exploit and Frothi's exploit are the same one and that to Beowulf, the Dane, the same exploit was also once attributed. In Saxo's account, Bjarki is a king's retainer; and Boer thinks his exploit has been differentiated from that of Frothi, who is a king. In *Beowulf*, he thinks, the exploit has been transferred from Beowulf, the Danish king, to Beowulf, the Geat, and that the differentiation of the deed into two exploits has been retained—Beowulf, as a king's retainer, slaying Grendel, and later, as a king, killing a dragon. This identifies Bjarki's slaying of the winged monster with Beowulf's slaying of Grendel. In Saxo's account of Bjarki, Boer thinks that the dragon has been stripped of its wings and changed to a bear.¹⁶

Finnur Jónsson regards the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's slaying the winged monster as a reflection, though a feeble one, of the Grendel story in *Beowulf*.¹⁷

Axel Olrik, who, more extensively than any other writer, has entered into the whole matter, of which the problems here under consideration form a part, does not think there is any connection between *Beowulf* and the *Hrólfs saga*.¹⁸ He regards the stories in the *Bjarkarmur* of Bjarki's slaying the wolf and Hjalti's slaying the bear as earlier compositions than the corresponding story in the *Hrólfs saga*.¹⁹ The addition of "Bothvar" to Bjarki's name he thinks was acquired among the Scandinavians in the north of England,²⁰ where the Bjarki story, by contact with the story of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, acquired the further addition of Bjarki's reputed bear-ancestry.²¹ The stories in the *Grettissaga*, *Flateyjarbók*, and *Egilssaga* to which counterparts are found in *Beowulf*, he believes to have been acquired by contact either with the Beowulf legend or, perhaps, with the Anglo-Saxon epic itself.²²

¹⁶ *Ark.*, 1903 (the article is dated 1901), XIX, pp. 19 ff.

¹⁷ *Oldn. Lit. Hist.*, II, 1901, p. 832.

¹⁸ *Helt.*, I, 1903, pp. 135-36.

¹⁹ *Helt.*, I, p. 135.

²⁰ *Helt.*, I, pp. 139-41.

²¹ *Helt.*, I, pp. 215-17.

²² *Helt.*, I, p. 248.

Finnur Jónsson thinks that the stories in the *Bjarkarmur* of Bjarki's slaying the wolf and Hjalti's slaying the bear are later compositions than the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's slaying the winged monster, and supports this opinion by maintaining that the monster in the saga is a reminiscence, though altered and faded, of Grendel in *Beowulf*.²³

Sarrazin regards the cowardly, useless Hott, Bjarki's companion, as a personification of the sword Hrunting, which fails Beowulf in his fight with Grendel's mother. But Hjalti, as Hott is called after he has become brave and strong, he regards as a personification of the giant-sword with which Beowulf dispatches Grendel's mother. Sarrazin would also identify the giant-sword, which is said to have a golden hilt (gylden hilt), with the sword Gullinhjalti in the *Hrólfs saga*.²⁴

Max Deutschbein sees a connection between the Bjarki story and the *Gesta Herwardi* that would tend to establish the story in the *Bjarkarmur* as earlier than the corresponding story in the *Hrólfs saga*.²⁵

H. Munro Chadwick, basing his opinion on the similarity between the career of Bjarki and that of Beowulf, thinks there is good reason for believing that Beowulf was the same person as Bothvar Bjarki.²⁶

Alois Brandl does not think that Beowulf and Bjarki were the same person. He calls attention to the difficulty involved in the fact, which, he says, Olrik has emphasized, that "Bjarki" is etymologically unrelated to "Biár"; and of troll fights, he says, there are many in Scandinavian literature.²⁷

²³ *Hrs. Bjark.*, 1904, Introd., p. 22.

²⁴ *Eng. Stud.*, 1905, XXXV, pp. 19 ff. The similarity between "Gullinhjalti," in the *Hrólfs saga*, and "gylden hilt," in *Beowulf*, was first pointed out by Friedrich Kluge in *Englische Studien*, 1896, XXII, p. 145. Sarrazin would write "gylden hilt," the form in which the words appear in *Beowulf*, in one word and capitalize it (i. e., Gyldenhilt). This manner of writing the words brings them nearer in form to "Gullinhjalti," as this word is written in the *Hrólfs saga*. Holthausen in his latest edition (1909) of *Beowulf* also uses the form "Gyldenhilt." Lawrence, likewise, identifies "gylden hilt" with Gullinhjalti (see p. 12), as does also Panzer (see p. 12).

²⁵ *St. Sag. Eng.*, 1906, pp. 249 ff.

²⁶ *Camb. Hist. Lit.*, I, 1907, pp. 29-30.

²⁷ *Gesch. Alleng. Lit.*, 1908, p. 993.

William Witherle Lawrence thinks that "we may have to do with late influence of *Beowulf* upon the *Hrólfs saga*."²⁸ He identifies "gylden hilt" with Gullinhjalti.²⁹ He regards the stories in the *Bjarkarmur* of Bjarki's slaying the wolf and Hjalti's slaying the bear as earlier compositions than the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's slaying the winged monster,³⁰ which, in agreement with Olrik, he regards as "a special late elaboration peculiar to the *Hrólfs saga*." He regards Saxo's story as earlier than the stories in the *Bjarkarmur*.³¹ He refers to Mogk as believing that the Bjarki story in the saga is a werewolf myth into which the Grendel motive is woven.³² He quotes a passage from Heusler, in which Heusler states that he regards the story in the *Bjarkarmur* of the fight with the bear as earlier than the story in the saga of the fight with the winged monster and that, furthermore, *Beowulf*'s fight with Grendel has been transferred to Bjarki.³³ Lawrence also calls attention to the fact that Gering thinks there is unmistakable similarity between the Grendel story and the story of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster.³⁴

Friedrich Panzer identifies Bjarki with *Beowulf* and regards the story in question in the *Hrólfs saga* as a later composition than the corresponding stories in the *Bjarkarmur*, which he identifies with the Grendel story.³⁵ "Gylden hilt" he identifies with Gullinhjalti,³⁶ and Hott-Hjalti, whom Sarrazin regards as a personification of swords in *Beowulf*, he identifies with Hondscio, *Beowulf*'s companion who is devoured by Grendel.³⁷

The Story in the HRÓLFSSAGA of Bjarki's Slaying the Winged Monster.

It appears to the writer that the key to the explanation of much that has been the subject of dispute, or has remained unexplained, in the story about Bothvar Bjarki in the *Hrólfs saga* is the influence

²⁸ *P. M. L. A.*, 1909, XXIV, p. 237.

²⁹ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 239.

³⁰ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 231.

³¹ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 231.

³² *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 224.

³³ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 223.

³⁴ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 224.

³⁵ *St. germ. Sag.*, 1910, pp. 366 ff.

³⁶ *St. germ. Sag.*, pp. 372-73.

³⁷ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 383.

of the fictitious (in part, also historical) life of Siward, Earl of Northumberland under Canute the Great and succeeding kings.

The life of Siward, briefly summarized from the *Dictionary of National Biography*,³⁸ is as follows.

Siward, Earl of Northumberland, called Digera, or the strong, a Dane, is said to have been the son of a Danish jarl named Biörn. According to legend he was descended from a white bear and a lady, etc.³⁹ As a matter of fact, he probably came to England with Canute, and received the earldom of Deira after the death of Eadwulf Cutel, the Earl of Northumbria, when the Northumbrian earldom appears to have been divided. He married Ælflæd, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Bernicia, the nephew of Eadwulf Cutel. In 1041 he was employed by Hardecnute, along with Earls Godwin and Leofric, to ravage Worcestershire. Later he became Earl of Northumberland and probably also of Huntingdon.

He upheld Edward the Confessor in his quarrels with Godwin in 1051. In pursuance of the king's command, Siward invaded Scotland both by sea and land with a large force in 1054. The King of Scotland was Macbeth, who had slain his predecessor, Duncan I, the husband of a sister or cousin of the earl, and Siward's invasion was evidently undertaken on behalf of Duncan's son Malcolm. A fierce battle took place on July 27th; the Scots were routed, Macbeth fled, and Malcolm appears to have been established as King of Cumbria in the district south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Siward died at York in 1055. Siward and his son Osbeorn, called by Shakespeare "Young Siward," appear in *Macbeth*.

The legendary life of Siward is found in two Latin versions in Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, vol. III. These two versions Olrik designates as A (anonymous; p. 288) and B (Bromton; p. 300).⁴⁰ According to B, an earl of royal descent in the kingdom of the Danes had an only daughter, who went with her maidens for a walk in a neighboring wood. They met a bear, whereupon the maidens fled and the daughter was seized by the bear and carried off. In the course of time she gave birth to a son, whose name was Bern and who bore marks, in the shape of a bear's ears, of his paternity. Bern had a son, whose name was Siward. According to A,

³⁸ XVIII, pp. 318-19.

³⁹ See the legendary life of Siward in the following.

⁴⁰ *Ark.*, XIX, p. 199.

Siward is removed by three generations more from his bear-ancestor, the line of descent being Ursus (the bear), Spratlingus, Ulsius (should be, Ulfius), Beorn (with the cognomen Beresun), Siward.

According to A, where the account is a little more detailed than in B, Siward, who was given the cognomen Diere (large), was a brave and powerful man, who, disdaining the succession to his father's earldom in Denmark, set sail with one vessel and fifty chosen companions, and arrived at the Orkney Islands. On one of the islands was a dragon that had done much damage by killing men and cattle. To show his strength and bravery, Siward entered into a combat with the dragon and drove it from the island. Thence he set sail for Northumberland, and there, he heard, there was another dragon. During the search for this dragon, he met an old man sitting on a hill. He inquired of the man as to the whereabouts of the dragon. But the man, calling him by name, told him that he sought the dragon in vain, and directed him to continue his journey and proceed till he came to a river called Thames, on whose bank was situated a city by the name of London. "And there," he said, "you will find the king of that region, who will enlist you in his service and in a short time bestow land upon you." As a token of the trustworthiness of his prediction, the old man drew from the folds of his garment a banner, called Ravenlandeye, and presented it to Siward.

Siward accepted the banner and proceeded to London, where he was summoned by King Edward to meet him at Westminster. Siward obeyed the summons and was enlisted in the service of the king, who promised him the first position of honor to become vacant in the kingdom. On this visit to the king, he slew Tosti in order to avenge an imagined insult and demanded and received Tosti's earldom of Huntingdon, which had thus become vacant. Some time after he also received the earldoms of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

Later the Norwegians made war on the king; but Siward defeated them and avenged many fold the insults and injuries sustained by the king, thus fulfilling the prophecy "that Divine Providence would permit to be born from the union of a rational with an irrational creature, i. e., from the union of a woman with a bear, a man who would wreak vengeance on the enemies of the illustrious and glorious King of England."

In the course of time, Dunewal, King of the Scots, was ejected from his kingdom. He sought the aid of Siward, who gathered an army and proceeded as far as Dundee, when news was brought him that his subjects in Northumberland had risen in insurrection and slain his son Osbertum (Osbernum) Bulax. Compelled to return, he was roused to such anger that he sank his sword into a rock, leaving a mark that could be seen, the author says, in his day. Siward restored to the king the territory seized by the rebels, and returned home and inflicted severe punishment on his enemies.

B has some variations from the account in A, but none of these variations are of present significance.

The transformation of Siward from an historical character, in regard to whom we have authentic information, into the hero of a saga the first part of which is of the "fornaldarsaga" type, the latter part of the "Islændingasaga" type,⁴¹ is quite remarkable. He must have made a deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries and remained a hero in oral tradition long after the historical events of his life had been forgotten.

Olrik, who has done work of great importance in this field, offers a discussion of the legendary life of Siward in the *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, vol. XIX, from which it seems desirable to quote some passages for the light they throw on the development of this saga in England.

"Tagen som helhed er Sivards saga den mærkelige forening af æventyrlig og historisk sagastil.

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 "I dragekampene og i Odinskikkelsen, er der nær tilslutning til norrön tradition; her må de i Nordengland bosatte Nordmænd have gjort sig gældende med et berigende og udviklende element. Dette gælder da ikke blot for Sivards saga, men også for Ragnar Lodbroks historie, for så vidt den fra først er bleven til i England. På den anden side må vi ikke alene regne med, at Nordengland er en aflægger af norsk sagakultur; den er tillige en banebryder for dens rigere udvikling. Vi har set det med dragekampen, der optages væsenlig fra engelske forestillinger, og som vistnok ad den vej finder ind i de norsk-islandske æventyrsagaer og historiske traditioner."⁴²

⁴¹ Olrik, *Ark.*, XIX, p. 205.

⁴² *Ark.*, XIX, pp. 212-13.

With the situation thus before us—namely: 1. the numerical strength of the Danes and Norwegians in the north of England, which had become a second home of Norwegian saga-culture; 2. the fact that the *Hrólfs saga* was known in England, where Bjarki received the addition "Bothvar" to his name; and 3. the fact that the Siward saga as we find it in Langebek was developed in the same locality—it is evident that it was not only possible, but practically inevitable, that the *Hrólfs saga* and the Siward saga should come in contact with each other. And this was, indeed, the case. That a popular hero is said to have descended from a bear is a very widespread motive, not at all confined to the territory in which the Bjarki story was known; but the similarities in the genealogies of Siward, Bothvar Bjarki, and Ulf (*Gest. Dan.*, tenth book) are so great that the casual reader immediately concludes that these genealogies must in some way be related. Olrik has unraveled the skein and shown that the bear-ancestry belonged originally to Siward and from him was transferred to Ulf and Bjarki.

Olrik dwells on the fact that, "Det sagn, der her optræder som knyttet til historiske eller rettere halvhistoriske personer, findes også rundt omkring i Europas æventyr som indledning til fortællingen om den stærke kæmpe, der hentede de bortførte kongedötre tilbage fra trolde." Olrik says further: "Men også i den islandske sagaverden har vi tilknytning. Beorn Beresuns fødsel genfindes som Bödvar Bjarkes. Bödvars forældre er den til björn omskabte kongesøn Björn og bondedatteren Bera. Foruden ved navnene røbes sammenhængen ved at björnen—ligesom i Sakses sagn—bliver jaget og dræbt, og sønnen senere tager hævn. Men samtidig er motivet udviklet langt rigere, idet omskabelse og stemoder er blandet ind, og arven efter vilddyret fordeles paa tre sønner: dels björneagtigt ydre, dels styrke og 'hamram'-hed. Således er de danske og de (norsk-) islandske tilknytninger af forskellig art; de danske giver os de æventyragtige elementer, hvoraf sagnet opstår. Den islandske *Hrólfs saga* og *Bjarkarmur* viser os dets videre udvikling til æventyrsaga. Selve den nordengelske Siwardssaga står i midten som et mærkeligt mellemed i udviklingen."⁴³ Here we have the first

⁴³ *Ark.*, XIX, pp. 205-07. See also *Helt.*, I, pp. 215-17. In his *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 378, n., Panzer calls in question the connection that Olrik makes between Bjarki's bear-ancestry and that of Siward. But Olrik's theory furnishes the only satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena involved, and is so extremely probable that it must be regarded as correct.

sure indication of contact between the Siward saga and the story of Bjarki, in the *Hrólfs saga*.

There is much in the main features of the lives of Siward and Bjarki that is similar. Both were men of extraordinary prowess and bravery; both gave up a great heritage at home (Siward, an earldom; Bjarki, a kingdom); both left their native land to enter the service of a foreign monarch (Siward entering the service of Edward the Confessor; Bjarki, that of Hrolf Kraki); both slew a ferocious monster; both paused in another land (Siward, on the Orkney Islands; Bjarki, in Sweden) before reaching what was to be their destination; both displayed their warlike qualities by slaying a man of great prominence who was closely connected with the king (Siward slaying Tosti, and Bjarki slaying Agnar); both were the king's chief support in his wars against his enemies; and both invaded a foreign land (Siward making an expedition to Scotland, and Bjarki accompanying Hrolf on his expedition to Sweden).

Certain features of the life of Bjarki mentioned above, such as his bravery, strength, his being in the service of Hrolf Kraki, his killing a fierce beast, and slaying Agnar, the saga-man found ready to his hand; but not the renunciation of his kingdom. Earldoms and kingdoms are not renounced "for light and transient causes." As regards Siward, who renounced his earldom, he seemed to be destined for a greater career, as subsequent events show and as is indicated by the fact that Odin (for the old man on the hill whom Siward met was none other than Odin) took a hand in directing his course. But when Bjarki renounced his kingdom, it was altogether unmotivated. The saga says: "Soon afterwards [i. e., after Bjarki's revenge on his evil step-mother] King Hring fell sick and died, whereupon Bothvar succeeded to the throne and was for a time satisfied. Later, he called his subjects together to a 'þing' [i. e., assembly] and said he wished to leave the country, married his mother to a man named Valsleit, who had been an earl, celebrated their wedding, and departed."⁴⁴ He became Hrolf's most noted warrior, but neither sought nor attained to any other distinction. The renunciation of a kingdom for the fate of a man who appears among strangers and gets what his own right arm can win for him is a rare occurrence; and when the saga-man lets Bjarki become a king and then, without reason, renounce this highest of all earthly

⁴⁴ *Hrs. Bjark.*, pp. 59-60.

dignities, it can only be in servile imitation of the corresponding feature of the Siward saga.

Besides those already mentioned, the two stories have other features in common. It is said of Siward, that when he learned that his son Osbeorn had fallen in battle, he became so angry that he sank his sword into a rock. It is said of Elgfrothi, Bjarki's brother, that he swung his sword against a rock with such force that it sank in to the hilt. But Elgfrothi's feat was performed under such widely different circumstances that the author may, or may not, have had Siward's feat in mind in recording the incident. However, suggestions received from one story are often employed in another quite as the author sees fit, so that, although one is not inclined to attach much importance to this incident, it is, nevertheless, worth noting.

Somewhat more noteworthy than the incident just mentioned is the introduction of Odin in both stories in the disguise of an old man. In the Siward story he appears on a hill as Siward reaches Northumberland on his journey from the Orkney Islands, and tells Siward what course to pursue, presents him the banner Ravenland-eye, which is accepted, and predicts for him a brilliant future. In the *Hrólfs saga* Odin appears as a one-eyed old man living in a hut in Sweden. Hrolf and his men seek a night's entertainment of him while on their way to the Swedish court, and the old man tests their endurance and instructs Hrolf in regard to the measures he must take to accomplish his purpose. Odin also appears to the men as they return on their way to Denmark, when he offers Hrolf a sword, shield, and armor. Hrolf declines the proffered gift, whereupon Odin tells Hrolf that he is not as wise as he thinks he is, and Hrolf soon, but too late, realizes that the rejection of the gift augurs ill fortune. There is nothing unusual in the appearance of Odin as a one-eyed old man, for it is a common characteristic of saga literature. But though Hrolf's expedition to Sweden is mentioned in *Snorri's Edda*,⁴⁵ where the passage concerned is based on the old *Skjöldungasaga*, the oldest authority in regard to the matter, but unfortunately now lost, no mention of Odin is made in this connection.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Odin again appears in the saga (at the close), where Bjarki vows that if he could get his eye on the god he would use him roughly for permitting the enemy to gain the vic-

⁴⁵ *Sn. Ed.*, pp. 107-10.

⁴⁶ See p. 95, 3, and note.

tory in the battle that is being fought and that is going against Hrolf and his men. In the latter instance, Odin belongs originally to the story (*Gest. Dan.*, second book, where Odin is represented as riding his steed Sleipnir and being invisibly present at the battle to take the dead to Valhalla). The two conceptions of Odin—on the one hand, as appearing in the disguise of an old man; on the other, as riding his horse, Sleipnir, and taking those fallen in battle to Valhalla—are quite different, the former being distinctly Norwegian, one of the circumstances that Olrik uses to show that the Siward saga originated under strong Norwegian influence, while the latter was the conception of Odin current in Denmark and Sweden.⁴⁷ As already stated, the introduction of Odin as an old man is a motive that occurs frequently in saga literature. It cannot, therefore, be stated definitely that his appearance in the Siward saga suggested the use of him in the Bjarki story. But the two stories were current in the same locality; they were formed under similar conceptions of saga literature; in both stories Odin directs the hero in question as to the most advisable course to pursue and offers him a present; the Bjarki story already contained an instance, of another mintage, of the Odin motive; as stated above, the oldest authority in regard to the matter says nothing about Odin's appearing to Hrolf on the expedition to Sweden; and, as we know, the one has acquired important features (Bjarki's bear-ancestry and his renunciation of his kingdom) from the other. These circumstances render it highly probable that this is another of the Bjarki story's acquisitions from contact with the Siward saga. Incidents of this kind need not necessarily be used in one story as they are in another; saga literature abounds in evidence of this fact, as, for instance, Saxo's and the *Hrólfs saga's* story of Hroar and Helgi, considered later.

A feature of the *Hrólfs saga* that is much more noteworthy in this connection and that has certainly been acquired from the Siward saga is that concerning the kind of monster slain by Bjarki at the court of Hrolf Kraki. When Siward's bear-ancestry had been transferred to Bothvar Bjarki, it followed as a matter of course that Bjarki must no longer be represented as killing a bear. Siward had driven a dragon, which had killed men and cattle in great numbers, from one of the Orkney Islands; and it is in imitation of this exploit that Bjarki is represented as having slain a

⁴⁷ *Ark.*, XIX, p. 211.

winged monster (dragon). This would be only another instance, in addition to those already mentioned, of the influence exerted by the story of Siward on the *Hrólfs saga*. Ordinarily, there was nothing about Bjarki's person that revealed or suggested that his father was a bear; but he was able to assume the shape of a bear, which, according to the *Hrólfs saga*, he did with terrible effect in the last battle of Hrolf and his warriors. Since he sustained such near relationship to the bear-family, it would be inappropriate to represent him as showing his prowess by killing a bear, for his sentiments toward that animal would, as a result of his own ancestry and the treatment his father had received, be those of sympathy rather than antipathy. His mother had told him the whole story of his ancestry and the maltreatment of his father, and it had aroused him to take most dire revenge. Consequently, he must be represented as having killed some other kind of ferocious beast, or monster, than a bear, and this naturally became the same kind of monster that Siward had overcome, namely a dragon. The fact that it was not uncommon at the time the saga was composed for a popular hero to be represented as having slain a dragon made it all the easier for the author of the *Hrólfs saga* to imitate this feature of the Siward saga. It may be said that this is attributing too much consistency in one particular to a story that otherwise is a piece of patch-work. But the story of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster is not patch-work; it does not represent the poorest and latest form of the Bjarki legends, as Olrik says;⁴⁸ it is not an impossible story, as Panzer says;⁴⁹ nor is it "inconsequent and absurd," as Lawrence says.⁵⁰ Considering the time at which it was written, it is a well considered, well constructed narrative, in which the material at hand and the machinery that was regarded as permissible and appropriate in saga-writing at the time is employed with great skill to produce the intended effect. The story is as follows:—

"Ok sem leið at jólum, gerðuz menn ókátir. Þóðvarr spýrr Hott, hverju þetta sætti; hann segir honum, at dýr eitt hafi þar komit tvá vetr í samt, mikit og ógurligt—'ok hefir vængi á bakinu ok flýgr þat jafnan; tvau haust hefir þat nú hingat vitjat ok gerð mikinn skaða; á þat bíta ekki vápn, en kappar konungs koma ekki

⁴⁸ *Helt.*, I, p. 136.

⁴⁹ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 367.

⁵⁰ *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 239.

heim, þeir sem at eru einna mestir.' Þoðvarr mælti: 'ekki er höllin svá vel skipuð, sem ek ætlaði, ef eitt dýr skal hér eyða ríki og fé konungsins.' Hotttr sagði: 'þat er ekki dýr, heldr er þat hit mesta tröll.' Nú kemr jólaaptann; þá mælti konungr: 'nú vil ek, at menn sé kyrrir ok hljóðir í nótt, ok banna ek öllum mínum monnum at ganga í nokkurn háska við dýrit, en fé ferr eptir því sem auðnar; menn mína vil ek ekki missa.' Allir heita hér góðu um, at gera eptir því, sem konungr bauð. Þoðvarr leyndiz í burt um nóttina; hann lætr Hottt fara með sér, ok gerir hann þat nauðugr ok kallaði hann sér stýrt til bana. Þoðvarr segir, at betr mundi til takaz. Þeir ganga í burt frá höllinni, ok verðr Þoðvarr at bera hann; svá er hann hræddr. Nú sjá þeir dýrit; ok því næst æpir Hotttr slíkt, sem hann má, ok kvað dýrit mundu gleypa hann. Þoðvarr bað bikkjuna hans þegja ok kastar honum niðr í mosann, ok þar liggir hann ok eigi með öllu óhræddr; eigi þorir hann heim at fara heldr. Nú gengr Þoðvarr móti dýrinu; þat hæfir honum, at sverðit er fast í umgjörðinni, er hann vildi bregða því. Þoðvarr eggjar nú fast sverðit ok þá bragðar í umgjörðinni, ok nú fær hann brugðit umgjörðinni, svá at sverðit gengr úr slíðrunum, ok leggir þegar undir bægi dýrsins ok svá fast, at stóð í hjartanu, ok datt þá dýrit til jarðar dautt niðr. Eptir þat ferr hann þangat sem Hotttr liggir. Þoðvarr tekr hann upp ok berr þangat, sem dýrit liggir dautt. Hotttr skelfr ákaft. Þoðvarr mælti: 'nú skaltu drekka blóð dýrsins.' Hann er lengi tregr, en þó þorir hann víst eigi annat. Þoðvarr lætr hann drekka tvá sopa stóra; hann lét hann ok eta nokkut af dýrshjartanu; eptir þetta tekr Þoðvarr til hans, ok áttuz þeir við lengi. Þoðvarr mælti: 'helzt ertu nú sterkr orðinn, ok ekki vænti ek, at þú hræðiz nú hirðmenn Hrólfs konungs.' Hotttr sagði: 'eigi mun ek þá hræðaz ok eigi þik upp frá þessu.' 'Vel er þá orðit, Hotttr félagi; fœru vit nú til ok reisum upp dýrit ok búum svá um, at aðrir ætli at kvíkt muni vera.' Þeir gera nú svá. Eptir þat fara þeir heim ok hafa kyrt um sik, ok veit engi maðr, hvat þeir hafa iðjat. Konungr spyr um morguninn, hvat þeir viti til dýrsins, hvárt þat hafi nokkut þangat vitjat um nóttina; honum var sagt, at fé alt væri heilt í grindum ok ósakat. Konungr bað menn forvitnaz, hvárt engi sæi líkindi til, at þat hefði heim komit. Varðmenn gerðu svá ok kómu skjótt aptur ok sögðu konungi, at dýrit færi þar ok heldr geyst at borginni. Konungr bað hirðmenn vera hrausta ok duga nú hvern eptir því, sem hann hefði hug til, ok ráða af óvætt þenna; ok svá var gert,

sem konungr bauð, at þeir bjuggu sik til þess. Konungr horfði á dýrit ok mælti síðan: 'enga sé ek fgr á dýrinu, en hverr vill nú taka kaup einn ok ganga í móti því?' Þoðvarr mælti: 'þat væri næsta hrausts manns forvitnisbót. Hotttr félagi, rektu nú af þér illmælit þat, at menn láta, sem engi krellr né dugr muni í þér vera; far nú ok drep þú dýrit; máttu sjá, at engi er allfúss til annarra.' 'Já, sagði Hotttr, ek mun til þessa ráðaz.' Konungr mælti: 'ekki veit ek, hvaðan þessi hreysti er at þér komin, Hotttr, ok mikit hefir um þik skipaz á skammri stund.' Hotttr mælti: 'gef mér til sverðit Gullinhjalta, er þú heldr á, ok skal ek þá fella dýrit eða fá bana.' Hrólfr konungr mælti: 'þetta sverð er ekki beranda nema þeim manni, sem bæði er góðr drengr og hraustr.' Hotttr sagði: 'svá skaltu til ætla, at mér sé svá háttat.' Konungr mælti: 'hvat má vita, nema fleira hafi skipz um hagi þína, en sjá þykkir, en fæstir menn þykkjaz þik kenna, at þú sér enn sami maðr; nú tak við sverðinu ok njót manna bezt, ef þetta er til unnit.' Síðan gengr Hotttr at dýrinu alldjarfliga ok hogggr til þess, þá er hann kemr í hoggfæri; ok dýrit fellr niðr dauðt. Þoðvarr mælti: 'sjáið nú, herra, hvat hann hefir til unnit.' Konungr segir: 'víst hefir hann mikit skipaz, en ekki hefir Hotttr einn dýrit drepit, heldr hefir þú þat gert.' Þoðvarr segir: 'vera má, at svá sé.' Konungr segir: 'vissa ek, þá er þú komt hér, at fáir mundu þínir jafningjar vera, en þat þykki mér þó þitt verk frægiligast, at þú hefir gert hér annan kappa, þar er Hotttr er, ok óvænigr þótti til mikillar giptu; ok nú vil ek at hann heiti eigi Hotttr lengr ok skal hann heita Hjalti upp frá þessu; skaltu heita eptir sverðinu Gullinhjalta.'⁶¹

⁶¹ *Hrs. Bjark.*, pp. 68-71. Lawrence's translation of the above is as follows:—

"And as the Yule-feast approached, the men grew depressed. Bothvar asked Hott the reason; he told him that a beast had already come two successive winters, a great and terrible one,—and it has wings on its back and flies about continually; two autumns it has already sought us here, and it does great damage; no weapon wounds it, but the king's champions, the best warriors of all, don't come home at this time.' Bothvar said, 'The hall isn't so well defended as I thought, if a beast can destroy the domain and property of the king.' Hott answered, 'That is no beast, it is rather the greatest of monsters.' (þat er ekki dýr, heldr er þat hit mesta tröll). Now came the Yule-even; and the king said, 'Now I desire that the men be still and quiet in the night, and I forbid them all to run any risk on account of the beast; let the cattle fare as fate wills (sem auðnar); my men I do not wish to lose.' All promised to act as the king commanded. But Bothvar crept secretly out in the night; he made Hott go with him, but Hott only went because he was forced to, crying out that it would surely be the death of him. Bothvar told him it would turn out better. They

The consistency observed in displacing the bear, as the animal killed by Bjarki, has been noted, as has also the reason why the dragon was introduced as a substitute for the bear. It will be observed that the account of the dragon in the Siward story suggested the further development of the story in the *Hrólfs saga*. Olrik says: "I én henseende har Sivard den digres kamp dog noget eget. De almindelige norrøne dragekampe lige fra Sigurds drab på Fávne har stadig til mål at vinde dragens guld. For Sivard went out of the hall, and Bothvar had to carry him, so full of fear was he. Now they saw the beast, and Hott shrieked as loud as he could, and cried that the beast was going to swallow him. Bothvar commanded the dog (bikkjuna hans, i. e., Hott) to keep still, and threw him down in the moss, and there he lay in unspeakable terror, and didn't even dare to run home. Then Bothvar attacked the beast, but it chanced that the sword stuck in the sheath when he wanted to draw it; then he pulled so hard at the sword that it flew out of the sheath, and he plunged (leggr) it immediately with such force under the shoulder of the beast, that it penetrated the heart, and hard and heavily fell the beast down on the ground dead. Then Bothvar went over to where Hott was lying. He took him up and carried him over to the place where the beast lay dead. Hott trembled frightfully. Bothvar said, 'Now you must drink the blood of the beast.' For a long time he was loth to do this, but he finally didn't dare to do otherwise. Bothvar made him drink two big gulps, and eat some of the beast's heart; then Bothvar grappled with him, and they struggled long with each other. Bothvar said, 'Now you have become very strong, and I don't believe that you will be afraid of the troop of King Hrolf any longer.' Hott answered, 'I shall not fear them any more, nor shall I be afraid of you henceforth.' 'That is well, comrade Hott,' [said Bothvar] 'and now will we set up the beast, and arrange it so that the others will think it alive.' They did so. Then they went in and were quiet; no one knew what they had done.

"The king asked in the morning whether they knew anything of the beast; whether it had showed itself anywhere in the night; they told him the cattle were all safe and sound in the folds. The king bade his men see if they couldn't find any indication that it had come thither. The warders obeyed, came quickly back again and told the king that the beast was advancing rapidly to attack the town (borginn). The king bade his men be courageous, [and said] each one should help, according as he had courage for it, and proceed against this monster. It was done as the king commanded; they made themselves ready for it. The king looked at the beast and said, 'I don't see that the beast moves; but who will undertake the task and attack it?' Bothvar answered, 'A brave man might be able to satisfy his curiosity about this! (þat væri næsta hrausts manns forvitnisbót.) Comrade Hott, destroy this evil talk about you,—men say that there is neither strength nor courage in you; go up and kill the beast!—you see nobody else wants to.' 'Yes,' said Hott, 'I will undertake it.' The king said, 'I don't know whence this courage has come to you, Hott, you have changed marvellously in a short time.' Hott said, 'Give me your sword Gullinhjalti, which you are bearing, and I will kill the beast or die in the attempt.' King

digre eksisterer dette motiv ikke; han vil frelse de hjemsøgte mennesker. Af alle de islandske dragekampe har kun Björn Hittðölekaþpes noget tilsvarende, og her er det næppe tilfældigt, at også den er henlagt til de engelske farvande. Det er det engelske dragekamps-motiv.⁵² Olrik further calls attention to the fact that in English tales the object is not to kill the dragon, but to drive it away, as Siward did. But to fit the dragon into the Bjarki story, it had to be killed in order that the blood-drinking episode might be introduced. This involved no difficulty, however; for the killing of the dragon was in harmony with Scandinavian saga-usage. But it should be observed how, in essence, the conception of the dragon in the Bjarki story harmonizes accurately with that in the Siward story. The king and his court are afflicted by the visitations of a dragon; and Bjarki puts an end to this affliction by killing the dragon, as Siward, in the corresponding situation, does by driving it away.

Not less terrible than dragons, but much more common, were trolls; and this fact led Brynjulfsson to remark that the introduction of a troll in this connection was as characteristic as anything could be.⁵³ The introduction of the troll is quite in harmony with the genius of Old Norse folk-lore. The saga-man did not, however, characterize the dragon as a troll merely because he would thus be employing good saga-material, but because the depredations ascribed to the dragon in the Siward story, which were quite foreign to the accounts of dragons in Scandinavian folk-lore, were very

Hrolf said, 'This sword can only be borne by a man who is both brave and daring.' Hott answered, 'You shall be convinced that I am such a man.' The king said, 'Who knows whether your character hasn't changed more than appearances show? Take the sword and may you have good fortune!' Then Hott attacked the beast and struck at it as soon as he was near enough so that he could hit it, and the beast fell down dead. Bothvar said, 'Look, lord, what he has done!' The king replied, 'Truly he has changed much, but Hott alone didn't kill the beast, you were the man who did it.' Bothvar said, 'It may be so.' The king said, 'I knew as soon as you came here that only few men could compare with you, but this seems to me your most illustrious deed, that you have made a warrior out of Hott, who appeared little born to great good fortune. And now I wish him called Hott no longer, he shall from this day be named Hjalti,—thou shalt be called after the sword Gullinhjalti.'—*P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, pp. 226-27.

⁵² *Ark.*, XIX, pp. 207-08.

⁵³ See p. 7.

suggestive of the depredations ascribed to trolls, and because a troll story would enable him to work out his plot with admirable effect. The statement in the saga, "As the Yule-feast approached, the men grew depressed," is a characteristic beginning of a troll story; for, while trolls commit their depredations at all times of the year and under a multitude of circumstances, many of the stories about them begin with such expressions as: "Yule was approaching. On the eve the shepherd went with his sheep";⁵⁴ "In old days no one could stay over Christmas Eve";⁵⁵ "It happened once late on a Yule Eve";⁵⁶ "Formerly every Christmas Eve";⁵⁷ "I gamle dage var det en julenat";⁵⁸ "Juleaften gik Per Bakken til kvernhuset";⁵⁹ "Nogen av selskapet kom til at tale om Hammertrollet, som det nu kaltes, og de mente, at skulde de nogengang vente ulempe av det arrige troll, saa maatte det vel være saadan i julegryet."⁶⁰

Thus, as we see, the statement that the winged monster appears late Christmas Eve,⁶¹ is exactly in harmony with the belief, still current in some parts of Norway, that on Christmas Eve, after sunset, but never earlier in the day, an adventure with a troll is to be expected unless proper precaution be taken to avoid it. It is a part of the superstition, that if any one ventures into, or near, the stable or other outbuildings late in the evening, he is in the greatest danger of being attacked by one of these malignant beings; and people are in mortal terror of falling into the clutches of a troll. As a result, there is great haste to get the chores done up early on Christmas Eve. In fact, the fear that Hott shows before leaving the hall, when he knows he must go out, and the extreme fear that he shows later, can be duplicated from the tales that are told in connection with the superstition. There is no danger, however, so long as one remains in the house.⁶²

⁵⁴ *Grettis.*, p. 92.

⁵⁵ *Sc. Folkl.*, p. 65.

⁵⁶ *Sc. Folkl.*, p. 66.

⁵⁷ *Sc. Folkl.*, p. 108.

⁵⁸ *Sagn*, p. 34.

⁵⁹ *Event. Sagn.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Event. Sagn.*, pp. 52-53.

⁶¹ "Ebbe svarede, at trolde kæmpede ved nat."—*Hell.*, I, p. 126. The sunlight is represented as being invariably fatal to trolls.

⁶² George Webbe Dasent says (*Pop. Tales*, Introd., pp. 57-58): "The trolls, on the other hand [i. e., in comparison with the Giants], with whom mankind

A story, pertinent in this connection, is told to illustrate the difficulties that ministers in the rural districts in Norway have had to contend with on account of the superstitious belief in trolls. A minister had exerted himself to root out of the people in his parish the belief in trolls. Among those whom he had endeavored to enlighten was a boy. But so ingrained had this belief become in the boy that, when Christmas Eve arrived and he was requested to go to one of the outbuildings on an errand, he was seized with fright. He went on the errand, however, and performed it without seeing a troll; but on his return he was so overcome with the fear

had more to do, were supposed to be less easy tempered, and more systematically malignant, than the Giants, and with the term were bound up notions of sorcery and unholy power. . . . But when Christianity came in, and heathendom fell; when the godlike race of Æsir became evil demons instead of good genial powers, then all the objects of the old popular belief, whether Æsir, Giants, or Trolls, were mingled together in one superstition, as 'no canny.' They were all trolls; all malignant; and thus it is that, in these tales, the traditions about Odin and his underlings, about the Frost Giants, and about sorcerers and wizards, are confused and garbled; and all supernatural agency that plots man's ill is the work of Trolls, whether the agent be the arch enemy himself, or giant, or witch, or wizard."

It is quite impossible to characterize trolls in detail with unqualified words or phrases. They are usually malignant, though there are instances of their doing men a good turn. They are always very powerful, and are usually very large. It is told of one troll that, had she not made a misstep, she would have succeeded in wading from Norway to Iceland; and of another, that the thumb of his glove held four bushels, good measure. In some instances, however, it is possible for many trolls to enter one room of an ordinary dwelling house. There are trolls with three heads, with six heads, with nine heads, and with twelve heads. Sometimes they are one-eyed, and sometimes they have other characteristics that differentiate them from human beings. In fact, anything with supernatural qualities is apt to be called a troll. As a rule, it is impossible for human beings to cope with trolls except by outwitting them, which often is done. They are inimical to Christianity; and, though their depredations may occur on any day of the year, between sunset and sunrise, adventures with trolls, as stated above, are frequently represented as occurring Christmas Eve; and that is the time when particular precaution must be taken to avoid them. Usually it is taken for granted that trolls will not attack the inmates of a house, and people feel perfectly safe so long as they do not venture out. In another type of troll story, however, people expect trolls to invade the house Christmas Eve and attack them; and to avoid injury, the inmates vacate the house for the night, before sunset. Illustrations of these statements are found in such well known collections of fairy tales as *Sc. Folk.*, *Nor. Tales*, *Folk. Huld. Even.*, *Event. Sagn.*

that a troll was pursuing him that he fell to the ground, and had to be met by people from the house and escorted back.⁶³ The story is supposed to be true, and there is no reason to doubt it. But whether it is true or not is immaterial in this connection; in any event, it shows what kind of story we are dealing with in the saga, and it shows to what admirable use the story enabled the saga-man to put the inordinate fear and cowardice of Hott. In view of the circumstances (Hott's cowardice and the common fear of the Christmas troll), Hott's actions, when he is forced to accompany Bjarki and when he sees the monster, are perfectly natural; and to see the matter in any other light is not to understand the story.

Another feature of the first part of the story that should be noticed is the dual nature of the monster. A dragon was as terrible a creature as one could imagine; a troll was also as terrible a creature as one could imagine. But the saga-man has introduced into his story a being that combines the characteristics of both. Hott knew that the monster possessed this dual nature, for it is from him that the author lets the statement proceed, "That is no beast, it is rather the greatest troll." This makes it still more natural for him to display ridiculous fear. It also explains the king's fear of the monster, and removes the odium that might seem to attach to the king and his warriors in withdrawing from a combat with such a creature and allowing it, unopposed, to perform its Yuletide depredations and depart. The saga-man did not intend to belittle Hrolf Kraki; he intended to magnify Bjarki by introducing a monster for him to overcome that it was no shame for other mortals to avoid. Nor is it accidental that the reader is informed of the troll-nature of the dragon in a statement made by Hott to Bjarki. It serves to make it plain that Bjarki also knew what kind of monster the dragon was. This places in the strongest relief his courage in undertaking voluntarily, nay against the express command of the king, to attack the beast, and his prowess in felling it without difficulty. What single feat could he have performed, or in what manner could he have performed it, to reflect greater credit on himself? The cowardly Hott he had to have with him also, in order that the blood-drinking episode might be introduced; but Hott's childish actions encumbered him at a time when they would

⁶³ This story is in print and was related to the present writer by one who had read it; and, though diligent search has failed to locate it again, the writer ventures to reproduce it, for he is certain that it is in existence.

be very provoking and it might be necessary for Bjarki to have command of all his resources to gain a victory.

In the scene that follows the slaying of the dragon, it seems at first sight that an incongruous element has been introduced. That Hott is compelled to eat some of the dragon's heart is good saga-material, as is evident from the similar episode in the *Völsungasaga* (i. e., Sigurd's eating some of Favnir's heart); but the dragon is also a troll, and there is no sanction in saga-literature for eating a troll's heart and drinking a troll's blood to gain strength and courage. Trolls have always been regarded as detestable beings; and in drinking the blood of a troll, it might seem that one would acquire detestable qualities. But, on the one hand, the difficulty, if indeed story-tellers of the time regarded the matter as presenting a difficulty, was unavoidable without a reconstruction of the whole story; on the other hand, so far as the monster was a dragon, no difficulty would be involved, and so far as the monster had the nature of a troll, the heart-eating and blood-drinking would certainly be regarded as imparting strength. In such scenes as this it is never the intention that one who eats the heart of a dragon or drinks an animal's blood shall acquire all the characteristics of the animal; every scene of this kind would then be ridiculous from any point of view. The eating and drinking are done to gain strength and courage, as is the case here; and it is not proper to subject this scene to a more critical judgment than similar scenes in other sagas. The strength of a troll was certainly not to be despised; and we find this particular episode sanctioned in a way in the *Bjarkarmur*, where it is said that after Hjalti had drunk of the blood of the wolf, he became, not as strong as a wolf, but "as strong as a troll." In view of the fact that the troll is a troll-dragon, that the eating of its heart associates the episode very closely with the similar episode in the *Völsungasaga*, and that the *rtmur* magnify Hjalti's strength by saying that it is equal to that of a troll, it is hypercritical to say that the saga here contains an incongruous element. And however insistent one may be in maintaining that the author has introduced an element that is not recognized saga-material, it must be admitted that he has so skillfully fused it with good saga-material that it is not probable, as the *rtmur* show, that contemporary readers found any fault with the episode.

But does such a monster as a troll-dragon have any sanction in folk-lore? Yes, it does. It is characteristic of Norse folk-lore to

ascribe troll-like qualities to beings about which there seems to be something supernatural, such as invulnerability. In one of Asbjørnsen's tales, there is a story about a troll-bird, told by a man named Per Sandaker, who "was supposed to be strong in stories about troll-birds." In the story referred to, there is a woodgrouse (tiur) which has become known as a fabulous animal (fabeldyr) throughout the whole neighborhood. "One might just as well shoot at a stone," said Per, with the greatest conviction"; for he had shot at the bird and made the feathers fly, without being able to injure it. Later, on the hunting-trip on which Per was telling about the bird, he and a companion came across it. "Now he is out again, the old fellow," said Per; "there is no use in the wide world to shoot at him, one might just as well shoot at the clouds." The men maneuvered for a position; and Per's companion, who is telling the story, says, "My gun was raised, and the mighty bird tumbled down head first." Per picked it up and examined it and declared that it was the troll-bird; he could tell it by the beak. On the same trip stories were told about troll-hares that for a time had escaped uninjured but had finally been killed.⁶⁴

Panzer⁶⁵ and others have called attention to the discrepancy between the statement that the monster in the saga is said to be invulnerable, and that it is nevertheless killed. In the story from Asbjørnsen's tales we have the explanation. The troll-animal seems to be invulnerable until some one appears who has the requisite skill or strength, or a combination of both, to dispatch it; and it might be observed that Bjarki paid no more attention to Hott's statement about the invulnerability of the troll-dragon than Per's companion paid to Per's statement about the invulnerability of the troll-bird.

Finnur Jónsson calls the dragon a hall-attacking monster;⁶⁶ but this appellation is hardly correct. The only thing in the saga that might fairly suggest it is Bjarki's statement, "The hall isn't so well defended as I thought, if a beast can destroy the domain and property of the king." But Hott has not said that the monster had attacked the hall; and if it be insisted that it is the author who has represented Bjarki as making the statement and has not paused

⁶⁴ *Folk. Huld. Even.*, Pt. I, pp. 66 ff.

⁶⁵ *St. germ. Sag.*, pp. 367-68.

⁶⁶ "Dette hallen hjemsögende uhyre."—*Hrs. Bjark.*, *Introd.*, p. 22.

to weigh nicely the dramatic proprieties, the reply may be made that Bjarki thinks of how weakly the king's hall is defended when a monster can regularly defy his men and come off without injury. He does not imply that the hall has been attacked; he refers to the destruction of "the domain and property of the king." In any event, the saga does not represent the monster as attacking the hall. To continue immediately after the statement just quoted: "Hott answered, 'That is no beast, it is rather the greatest troll.' Now came the Yule-even; and the king said, 'Now I desire that all the men be still and quiet in the night, and I forbid them all to run any risk on account of the beast; let the cattle fare as fate wills; my men I do not wish to lose.'" The king expects the cattle to fare ill, but wishes to run no risk of losing his men; however, if they remain in the hall in the night, there will be no risk of losing them, because (such is the necessary conclusion) the hall and the men in the hall will not be attacked. Hence, the monster cannot be called a hall-attacking monster; it is a cattle-attacking monster. Again, Bjarki did not expect the monster to attack the hall. If he had, he would probably have done as Beowulf did under similar circumstances—awaited its arrival. And the king's men did not expect the monster to attack the hall, for they seem to have gone to sleep; this is implied in the statement telling about Bjarki's and Hott's return to the hall, "Then they went in and were quiet; no one knew what they had done." If the men had been on guard for the monster, which was the only rational thing for them to do if they expected the hall to be attacked, the opportunity for Bjarki and Hott to sneak out, remain some length of time, and return, all unobserved, would have been cut off. Later, after Bjarki had crept out at night and killed the dragon, compelling Hott to go with him, etc., the saga continues, "The king asked in the morning whether they knew anything of the beast; whether it had showed itself anywhere in the night; they told him the cattle were all safe and sound in the folds." From this it follows that the dragon might have appeared and killed all the cattle, so far as the king knew; he had paid no attention to the matter in the night; he had apparently been asleep. The question was not whether the monster had attacked the hall; it was not expected to attack the hall; and the fact that it had not attacked the hall signified nothing as to whether it had made its appearance. The question was whether

the cattle had suffered; and when the king asked if the beast "had showed itself anywhere in the night," the answer was that "the cattle were all safe and sound in the folds." The extreme danger to which the cattle were exposed, and the entire safety of the men if they remained in the hall during the night, show again that this was no hall-attacking monster, but "et kongsgården hjemsøgende uhyre," a troll that destroyed cattle and did not endanger the men unless they left the hall in the night and exposed themselves to attack.

Among the Icelandic legends collected by Jón Arnason is a story which, in certain important particulars, is very much like the story about Bjarki's fight with the troll-dragon. A portion of it is as follows:—

"A man named Gudmundur lived once upon a time at a farm called Silfrúnarstadir, in the bay of Skagafjörður. He was very rich in flocks, and looked upon by his neighbours as a man of high esteem and respectability. He was married, but had no children.

"It happened one Christmas Eve, at Silfrúnarstadir, that the herdsman did not return home at night, and, as he was not found at the sheep-pens, the farmer caused a diligent search to be made for him all over the country, but quite in vain.

"Next spring Gudmundur hired another shepherd, named Grímur, who was tall and strong, and boasted of being able to resist anybody. But the farmer, in spite of the man's boldness and strength, warned him to be careful how he ran risks, and on Christmas Eve bade him drive the sheep early into the pens, and come home to the farm while it was still daylight. But in the evening Grímur did not come, and though search was made far and near for him, was never found. People made all sorts of guesses about the cause of his disappearance, but the farmer was full of grief, and after this could not get any one to act as shepherd for him.

"At this time there lived a poor widow at Sjárvarborg, who had several children, of whom the eldest, aged fourteen years, was named Sigurdur.

"To this woman the farmer at last applied, and offered her a large sum of money if she would allow her son to act as shepherd for him. Sigurdur was very anxious that his mother should have all this money, and declared himself most willing to undertake the office; so he went with the farmer, and during the summer was most successful in his new situation, and never lost a sheep.

"At the end of a certain time the farmer gave Sigurdur a wether, a ewe, and a lamb as a present, with which the youth was much pleased.

"Gudmundur became much attached to him, and on Christmas Eve begged him to come home from his sheep before sunset.

"All day long the boy watched the sheep, and when evening approached, he heard the sound of heavy footsteps on the mountains. Turning around he saw coming towards him a gigantic and terrible troll.

"She addressed him, saying, 'Good evening, my Sigurdur. I am come to put you into my bag.'

"Sigurdur answered, 'Are you cracked? Do you not see how thin I am? Surely I am not worth your notice. But I have a sheep and fat lamb here which I will give you for your pot this evening.'

"So he gave her the sheep and the lamb, which she threw on her shoulder, and carried off up the mountain again. Then Sigurdur went home, and right glad was the farmer to see him safe, and asked him whether he had seen anything.

" 'Nothing whatever, out of the common,' replied the boy.

"After New Year's day the farmer visited the flock, and, on looking them over, missed the sheep and lamb which he had given the youth, and asked him what had become of them. The boy answered that a fox had killed the lamb, and that the wether had fallen into a bog; adding, 'I fancy I shall not be very lucky with *my* sheep.'

"When he heard this, the farmer gave him one ewe and two wethers, and asked him to remain another year in his service. Sigurdur consented to do so.

"Next Christmas Eve, Gudmundur begged Sigurdur to be cautious, and not run any risks, for he loved him as his own son.

"But the boy answered, 'You need not fear, there are no risks to run.' "

The troll appeared again, and Sigurdur gave her two old and two young sheep. When he returned to the farm he declared that he had seen nothing unusual. Next year the troll appeared as usual, and took four sheep, which Sigurdur offered her, and himself besides. When she arrived at her cave, she bade Sigurdur kill them, and then bade him sharpen an axe, for she was going to kill him. He did so, but she spared him.

From this point, the story becomes more of a common fairy tale. By following the troll's advice, Sigurdur won Margaret, the dean's daughter.⁶⁷

This is another story about a troll that comes on Christmas Eve and harms people only when they expose themselves after sunset. Particularly noteworthy are the statements: "Gudmundur became attached to him, and on Christmas Eve begged him to come home from his sheep before sunset";—"Next Christmas Eve, Gudmundur begged Sigurdur to be cautious, and not run any risks, for he loved him as his own son";—and, "The farmer . . . asked him whether he had seen anything. 'Nothing whatever, out of the common,' replied the boy." They bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding statements in the *Hrólfs saga*: "The kings aid, 'Now I desire that all the men be still and quiet in the night, and I forbid them all to run any risk on account of the beast; let the cattle fare as fate wills; my men I do not wish to lose';—and, "The king asked in the morning whether they knew anything of the beast; whether it had showed itself anywhere in the night; they told him the cattle were all safe and sound in the folds."

The purpose of calling attention to the story in Arnason's collection is that it may aid in showing what kind of story the dragon story in the saga really is. That the most terrible kind of troll attacks the cattle⁶⁸ of the famous King Hrolf Kraki and is dispatched by the noted hero Bothvar Bjarki does not alter the nature of the story.

A possible objection remains, which should be removed. When the warders in the morning saw the dead propped-up dragon, they said "that the beast was advancing rapidly to attack the town." And "the king bade his men be courageous, [and said] each one should help, according as he had courage for it, and proceed against the monster." But it is plain that, since the beast was apparently coming in the morning, in broad daylight, instead of at night, it seemed to have changed its tactics, and no one could tell what it intended to do. It was the part of wisdom to prepare for the worst. Besides, the men would have better prospects of success,

⁶⁷ *Icel. Leg.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁶⁸ That it was the cattle of King Hrolf that the dragon attacked has been recognized by others, Müllenhoff (*Beow. Unt. Ang.*, p. 55) and Chadwick (*Camb. Hist. Lit.*, I, p. 29), for instance; but they make no more of the matter than to state it correctly.

or at least of avoiding injury, in an encounter with it in daylight, when its maneuvers could be watched and guarded against. That the warders in a state of excitement said that "the beast was advancing rapidly to attack the town," is of no significance. They merely expressed the thought that came to their minds; and they were palpably wrong when they said that it "was advancing rapidly." But it is an exquisite touch on the part of the saga-man to have the warders utter these words. They got one view of the monster and hastened back. Of course, the beast was advancing, and advancing rapidly; it would never occur to them, unless they had paused to take note of it, which they did not do, that the monster was standing still.

It may seem that too much attention is devoted to this feature of the story. But it is important to establish, if possible, the type of story we have before us in this much discussed tale about Bjarki and the troll-dragon. Regardless of where the author got the idea of the dragon, he has made use of the popular story about the troll that comes Christmas Eve and attacks those who venture out into the open after dark. And when the saga-man transformed the story into one of this type, he did it with the conscious purpose of providing a story that would enable him to let Bjarki take Hott out secretly at night, kill the dragon, compel Hott to eat of its heart and drink of its blood, put Hott's newly acquired strength to the test, prop the dead dragon up in a living posture, thus paving the way for further developments, and then return to the hall—all unseen and without arousing a breath of suspicion. The type of story is adapted precisely to the requirements of the author's plan. That the propping-up of an animal that has been slain is good saga-material, or has the sanction of earlier usage, is admitted, and need not be dwelt upon here.

The type to which the dragon story belongs has a bearing on its relationship to the Grendel story. Grendel is a hall-attacking monster; the troll-dragon is not a hall-attacking monster. If the dragon story in the saga is a modification of the Grendel story in *Beowulf*, or if it is a modification even of the story about the fire-spewing dragon, there has been a change, not only in the details of the story and the nature of the monster, but it has been transferred from one well-defined type of story to another. There is, indeed, a type of troll story in which the troll comes Christmas Eve and attacks the inmates of the house, not the cattle in the stable or

in the folds. To this type belongs the story in the *Grettissaga* in which the troll-wife attacks the man of the house⁶⁹ and which is often compared with the Grendel story. Another story of the same type is that about Peer Gynt, who, having been informed that a certain house is invaded by trolls every Christmas Eve so that the inmates must seek refuge elsewhere, decides to ask for lodging there over night next Christmas Eve in order that he may put an end to the depredations of the trolls. The trolls make their appearance as usual, and with the aid of a tame polar bear Peer Gynt puts them to flight.⁷⁰ But these stories must be sharply differentiated from the Bjarki story and others of its type; so that while the Grettir story and the Grendel story are essentially of the same type, the story about the winged monster in the *Hrólfs saga* and the Grendel story are not of the same type.

The last episode in the story about Bjarki and the winged monster has met with more criticism than any other portion of it. Olrik says that the story should have given us a real test of Hjalti's manhood;⁷¹ Lawrence says, "The beast-propping episode spoils the courage-scene;⁷² and Panzer says that this part of the story is impossible, because Hjalti is represented as killing a dead monster, and Hrolf, although he perceives the deception that has been practiced, nevertheless gives the swindler the heroic name Hjalti.⁷³ Panzer is also inclined to make much of Hjalti's asking for, and receiving, the king's sword, as he mentions the matter twice. Once he says, "Warum er des Königs Schwert verlangt, gibt die Saga nicht an, er 'tötet' damit das (tote) Tier wie in den *Rímur*";⁷⁴ and again, "Man sieht nicht, warum und wozu Hjalti des Königs Schwert zu seiner Scheintat erbittet und erhält."⁷⁵ Furthermore, Kluge, Sarrazin, Holthausen, Lawrence, and Panzer⁷⁶ would identify "gylden hilt" in *Beowulf* with Gullinhjalti in the saga.

In considering this portion of the story it should be observed that the saga-man had a fourfold purpose in view. Bjarki must receive credit for his great achievement in killing the troll-dragon;

⁶⁹ *Grettis.*, pp. 92 ff.

⁷⁰ *Folk. Huld. Even.*, Pt. III, pp. 53 ff.

⁷¹ *Helt.*, I, pp. 117-18.

⁷² *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, p. 239.

⁷³ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 366.

⁷⁴ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 368.

⁷⁵ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 372.

⁷⁶ See pp. 11-12.

he must receive credit for having made a brave man of the coward Hott; Hott must give proof of his newly acquired courage; his change of name must also be made, and, as is most appropriate, it must result, and result naturally, from the deed by which his courage is displayed. But before proceeding to an explanation of how the author manipulates the scene so as to accomplish his purpose, let us see how he has prepared for it.

The monster is dead. Hott has partaken of its strength-giving blood and heart. Bjarki and Hott have wrestled long, so that Bjarki has brought Hott to a thorough realization of the strength he now possesses, for that is the significance of the wrestling-match; and what better assurance could Hott have that he is now very strong than that he is not put to shame in wrestling with Bjarki, who has overawed the king's warriors and slain the terrible dragon? Finally, the dragon is propped up and the two retire.

The morning comes and the monster is in view; but some of the terror that its expected arrival in the darkness had inspired has disappeared when it is seen in broad daylight. An effort ought really to be made to destroy it, but the king will not command any one to take the risk involved in attacking it. He calls for a volunteer, and the fact that no one volunteers shows what the men think of it. Bjarki sees an opportunity to continue what he has begun in the night, by having Hott do what will win him the reputation and place among the king's men to which, owing to the change that he has undergone, he is now entitled; and he calls on Hott to show his strength and courage by attacking the beast. Hott knows that the monster is dead, but this is not the reason why he accedes to Bjarki's request. He realizes now that Bjarki's friendship is beyond question and that everything that Bjarki has done with regard to him, and asked him to do, has been for the best; and though he feels that he is called upon to engage in a strange proceeding, loyalty to his friend, who probably is equal to this occasion, as he has been to every other, impels him to do as requested and assist in playing the game to the end. So he says to the king, "Give me your sword *Gullinhjalti*, which you are bearing, and I will kill the beast or die in the attempt."

Whether Hott has a sword of his own the saga does not tell, and it is quite immaterial. That such a coward as Hott has been has no business carrying a sword, would be sufficient justification for his being without one. But whether he has a weapon or not, if

he is going to attack the monster he ought to be armed with the best sword available; and whose would that be but the king's sword? If the king expects any one to run the risk of attacking the beast, he ought to be willing to do what he can to assure success in the undertaking. He feels the force of the argument implied in Hott's request, and hands him his sword; but he says, "This sword can only be borne by a man who is both brave and daring." Hott answers, "You shall be convinced that I am such a man." He then goes up to the beast and knocks it over. But a beast that has shown itself to be so terrible on former occasions cannot be alive and yet stand stock still and allow itself to be killed and tumbled over in this manner. It must have been killed before, and now the king strongly suspects that the reason why Bjarki has urged Hott to attack it was that Bjarki, having killed the monster himself, knew that it was dead; and when he is charged with the deed he does not deny it. Thus Bjarki gets the credit for his achievement.

It is true, as Müllenhoff,⁷⁷ ten Brink,⁷⁸ and Olrik⁷⁹ have said, that the main object of the whole story of Bjarki and the dragon is to motivate Hott's newly acquired courage. Bjarki compels Hott to go with him when the dragon is to be attacked; he compels him to eat and drink what will give him strength and courage; he props up the dead dragon in order that, as the sequel shows, Hott may gain the reputation of being what he now really is, a brave man; and while, of the two achievements with which Bjarki is credited, the killing of the dragon is passed over lightly, his having made a brave man of Hott is strongly emphasized. But there can be no doubt that the saga-man planned that Bjarki should get credit for killing the dragon; for Bjarki does get such credit, and it must be presumed that, what the author permits to occur, he planned should occur. It is also natural that more emphasis is laid on his having made a hero of Hott than on his having slain the monster. Now that the beast is dead, the killing of it proved not to be an impossible feat, and Bjarki has shown before, that he possesses the qualities necessary for such a deed. But that he possesses the ability to make a hero out of the miserable, cowardly wretch, Hott, is a revelation of a new and uncommon power. He has not only dispatched the

⁷⁷ *Beow. Unt. Ang.*, p. 55.

⁷⁸ *Beow. Unt.*, p. 187.

⁷⁹ *Helt.*, I, p. 135.

king's most dangerous foe, he has added another brave man to the number of the king's retainers. This naturally attracts the king's particular attention, and he gives Bjarki special credit for the achievement.

But when Bjarki is known to have killed the beast, what becomes of Hott's display of bravery, or even the appearance of bravery? His whole demeanor, from the moment he accedes to Bjarki's request to attack the beast, reveals the change in his nature. But the proof of this change consists, not in knocking over the dragon, but in his ability to wield the sword which the king himself says can "only be borne by a man who is both brave and daring." This must be conclusive proof to the king and to all present. It is not accidental that it is the king's sword that Hott uses and that it is the king himself who makes the remark about it which he does. The king, above all men, must be convinced of Hott's bravery, and in view of the manner in which Hott's bravery is displayed, the king must, indeed, be satisfied with the proof. Thus this purpose of the scene is also accomplished. Nor has the saga-man devised an artificial method of testing strength and courage. It is quite in harmony with folk-lore. That a strength-giving drink enables one to wield a sword that an ordinary mortal cannot handle, is a motive employed in a number of fairy tales. It occurs, for instance, in *Soria Moria Castle*, one of the best known Norse fairy tales. It is told that Halvor, a typical good-for-nothing fellow and groveler-in-the-ashes, has arrived at a castle inhabited by a princess and a three-headed troll. The princess warns Halvor to beware of the monster, but he decides to await the troll's arrival. Halvor is hungry and asks for meat to eat. "When Halvor had eaten his fill, the princess told him to try if he could brandish the sword that hung against the wall; no, he couldn't brandish it—he couldn't even lift it up. 'Oh,' said the princess, 'now you must go and take a pull of that flask that hangs by its side; that's what the troll does every time he goes out to use the sword.' So Halvor took a pull, and in a twinkling of an eye he could brandish the sword like anything."⁸⁰ It is apparent, therefore, that the saga-man intended Hott's ability to wield the king's sword to constitute the proof of his bravery. Thus the author's third purpose is accomplished, and the king rewards Hott, not in spite of the deception that has

⁸⁰ *Nor. Tales*, p. 366. The sword here in question is just like the sword in Grendel's cave in *Beowulf*, except that it is not said to have a golden hilt.

been practiced and revealed, but on account of his bravery, which has been proved.⁸¹

In Saxo, Hjalti has no other name than "Hialto." In the *Hrólfs saga* he first has the name "Hott" and this is changed to "Hjalti." The appropriate time for changing it is, as has been said, when his change of nature becomes apparent; and his new name is most fittingly derived from the deed by which he manifests that he has become a different man from what he was. "Hjalti" means "hilt"; hence, he must get his name from a hilt; but it should come from the hilt of a sword connected with his display of courage, and this is the king's sword. It is a fine conception that, as Hjalti gets his new name from his ability to wield the wonderful sword of the king, his name is a constant reminder of his bravery. But the name of the king's sword is Skofnung; hence, as the word has no suggestion of "hilt" in it, it is not available in this connection. The form "hjalti" must appear in some way to suggest the

⁸¹ Other tales which contain the motive that a strength-giving drink enables one to wield a sword that has supernatural qualities are: *The Big Bird Dan and The Seven Foals* (Nor. Tales, pp. 266 and 449); *The Three Brothers* (Polish, *Yel. Fair. Bk.*, p. 144); and *Lonkentus* (Event. Sagn, p. 268). It may be urged that in all these instances the drinking imparts strength, not bravery. But the two qualities are closely related; and the saga-man makes it plain that, by means of the drink, Hott has acquired both. Bothvar says, "Now you have become very strong, and I don't believe that you will be afraid of the troop of King Hrolf any longer." Hott answers, "I shall not fear them any more." Later Bothvar says, referring to the proposed attack on the propped-up dragon, "A brave man might be able to satisfy his curiosity about this! Comrade Hott, destroy this evil talk about you,—men say that there is neither strength nor courage in you; go up and kill the beast!" "Yes," says Hott, "I will undertake it." The king says, "I don't know whence this courage has come to you, Hott, you have changed marvellously in a short time." From the foregoing and what is said about Hott's wrestling with Bothvar, it is plain that the author has taken particular pains to emphasize the fact that, by partaking of the heart and blood of the dragon, Hott has acquired great strength, the lack of which seems to have been the cause of his cowardice. It seems equally plain that when Hott knocks over the dead propped-up dragon by means of the sword Gullinhjalti, which the king explicitly says "can only be borne by a man who is both brave and daring," the purpose is to call particular attention to the fact that it is by wielding the sword that Hott gives proof of the change that has come over him. Regardless of the deceit that has been practiced in connection with the dead dragon, the king is compelled, if he believes what he has said about Gullinhjalti, to recognize that Hott has demonstrated by his ability to wield the sword that he is now "a man who is both brave and daring." And the king does recognize it; for he says to Bothvar, "You have made a warrior out of Hott."

name; and since the name is to come from the king's sword, the word "hjalti" must be used in connection with it. But what kind of a hilt would the king's sword naturally have? A golden hilt, of course. So far as the words are concerned, "iron hilt," "brass hilt," or "silver hilt" would have served the purpose just as well, had it been appropriate to use any of these terms. But the king's sword must have a golden hilt. Hence, Hott says to the king, "Give me your sword Gullinhjalti, which you are bearing, and I will kill the beast." And after the king is convinced of Hott's bravery he says, "And now I wish him called Hott no longer, he shall from this day be named Hjalti,—thou shalt be called after the sword Gullinhjalti." Thus Hjalti gets his name from the king's sword; and this, again, is proof that it is by wielding the king's sword that Hjalti displays his courage. That "Gullinhjalti" is written as one word and capitalized may be a late development and signify no more than the modern treatment by some writers of "gylden hilt" (i. e., writing it "Gyldenhilt") in *Beowulf*. Even if we assume that the original author of the word intended "Gullinhjalti" as a proper noun and the name of the king's sword, it does not necessarily conflict with the idea that the name of the king's sword is Skofnung. "Gullinhjalti" would then be a by-name, a pet-name, for Skofnung, derived from its golden hilt. It can hardly be presumed that when the saga-man in this connection calls the king's sword "Gullinhjalti," he has for the moment forgotten that the name of Hrolf's famous sword is Skofnung. Nor is it in conflict with the description of Skofnung that Gullinhjalti is given a supernatural quality. Skofnung also has a supernatural quality. It is Skofnung's nature to utter a loud sound whenever it reaches the bone.⁸²

That two swords in two widely separated compositions are identical requires more proof than that the term "golden hilt" is used in connection with both of them; and in the two compositions in question there is nothing else than this term, and the peculiarity of the one sword that it can be wielded only by a man of unusual strength, of the other that it can be wielded only by a brave man, on which to base an identity. The fact of the matter is that it is the requirement of the plot that has supplied both the name and the unusual quality of the sword Gullinhjalti in the *Hrólfs saga*. Other requirements would have produced other results.

⁸² *Hrs. Bjark.*, p. 100.

But since so much stress has been laid on the similarity between "gylden hilt" (*Beowulf*) and "Gullinhjalti" (*Hrólfs saga*) in the attempt to identify Bothvar Bjarki with Beowulf, let us turn our attention, before proceeding further, to the portion of *Beowulf* where the term "gylden hilt" occurs.

The context shows clearly that the author of *Beowulf* did not intend "gylden hilt" as a proper noun. He never uses the word "hilt" in connection with the weapon in question to designate the sword as a whole. "Hilt," both as a simple word and in compounds, is used only to designate the handle of the sword. The following terms are used for the sword as a whole: "bil,"⁸³ "sweord,"⁸⁴ "wæpen,"⁸⁵ "mæl,"⁸⁶ "irena cyst."⁸⁷ The word "hilt" is used seven times. Sarrazin says, "Es ist bemerkenswert, dass bei jenem Schwert, auch als es noch vollständig und unversehrt war, regelmässig die hilze, der griff (hilt), hervorgehoben wurde (ll. 1563, 1574, 1614, 1668, 1677, 1687, 1698)."⁸⁸ But the statements, "Hē gefēng þā fetel-hilt,"⁸⁹ "Wæpen hafenaðe heard be hiltum,"⁹⁰ contain the only two instances in which the hilt is mentioned before the blade melted. It is quite natural for the author to say, "He then seized the belted hilt." "The strong man raised the sword by the hilt"; for the hilt is the part of the weapon that is intended to be held in the hand when a sword is to be used. It is hardly correct to say that the hilt is here emphasized.

"Ne nôm hē in þām wicum, Weder-Gēata lēod,
māðm-æhta mā, þēh hē þær monige geseah,
būton þone hafelan ond þā hilt somod,
since fāge; sweord ær gemealt."⁹¹

"Hilt" does not here mean "sword," because "sweord ær gemealt" and nothing but the hilt was left to be taken away. The same ap-

⁸³ Ll. 1557, 1567, 1607, 1666.

⁸⁴ Ll. 1558, 1569, 1605, 1615, 1663, 1696.

⁸⁵ Ll. 1559, 1573.

⁸⁶ Ll. 1564, 1616, 1667.

⁸⁷ L. 1697.

⁸⁸ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXV, p. 22.

⁸⁹ L. 1563.

⁹⁰ Ll. 1573-74.

⁹¹ "The chief of the Weder-Geats took no more of the treasure-holdings in the dwelling, though he saw many there, but only the head, and with it, the sword's hilt, brave with gold; the sword had already melted" (ll. 1612-15).—*Beow.*, Child.

plies to "hilt" in the statement, "Ic þæt hilt þānan fēondum ætferede."⁹²

"þā wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince,
hārum hild-fruman, on hand gyfen,
enta ær-geweorc."⁹³

In this passage, "hilt" cannot refer to the whole sword, because the blade had melted; only the hilt remained. To say that the hilt was given to the king, was proper, for (making allowance, of course, for the fictional nature of the whole story) it was literally true; but to say that "Gyldenhilt" (the sword) was given to the king, would not be proper, because the principal part of the sword had disappeared. The word "gylden" is used in this passage apparently for two reasons: 1. that the hilt is of gold renders it more appropriate as a gift to the king; 2. "gylden" alliterates with "gamelum."

The hilt was remarkable for other qualities than that it was of gold.

"Hrōðgār maðelode, hylt scēawode,
ealde lāfe, on ðæm wæs ðr writen
fyrn-gewinnes, syðþan flōd ofslōh,
gifen gēotende, gīganta cyn;
frēcne gefērdon; þæt wæs fremde þēod
ēcean Dryhtne; him þæs ende-lēan
þurh wāteres wylm Waldend sealde.
Swā wæs on ðæm scennum scran goldes
þurh rūn-stafas rihte gemearcod,
geseted ond gesæd, hwām þæt sword geworht,
Irena cyst, ærest wære,
wreoþen-hilt ond wyrn-fāh."⁹⁴

"Hylt"⁹⁵ cannot mean the whole sword, since Hrothgar could look at only what was left of the sword. That was the "gylden hilt,"

⁹² "I bore the hilt thence away from my enemies" (ll. 1668-69).

⁹³ "Then the golden hilt, the work of giants long ago, was given into the hand of the old prince, the white-haired battle-leader" (ll. 1677-79).—*Beow.*, Child.

⁹⁴ "Hrothgar spake, looked on the hilt, the old heirloom, on which was written the beginning of that far-off strife, when the flood, the streaming ocean, slew the giant kind—they had borne themselves lawlessly. The people were estranged from the Eternal Lord; the Wielder, therefore, gave them their requital through the whelming of the waters. So was it duly lined in rimed staves on the guard of gleaming gold, set down and told for them for whom that sword was wrought, choicest of blades, with twisted hilt and decked with dragon-shapes." (ll. 1687-98).—*Beow.*, Child.

⁹⁵ L. 1687.

which he held in his hand; and the expression "hilt scēawode" leaves no doubt that "gylden hilt" is not a designation of the whole sword. "Wreopen-hilt"⁹⁶ also obviously refers only to the hilt.

In no instance, therefore, in this connection, does the author of *Beowulf* use "hilt" to designate the whole sword; consequently, to write "gylden hilt" as one word and capitalize it is both arbitrary and illogical. There is, in fact, nothing in the poem to indicate that the sword had a name.

Furthermore, the author refers to other swords that were distinguished by being ornamented with gold. When *Beowulf* left the land of the Danes, it is said,

"Hē þām bāt-wearde bunden golde
swurd gesealde."⁹⁷

And when *Beowulf* returned to the land of the Geats and presented to Hygelac and Hygd the gifts he had received from Hrothgar,

"Hēt ða eorla hlēo in gefetian,
heaðo-rōf cyning, Hrēðles lāfe
golde gegyrede; næs mid Gēatum ða
sinc-māðpum sēla on sweordes hād;
þæt hē on Bīowulfes bearm ālegde."⁹⁸

It is not said that either of these swords had a golden hilt; but it is plain that it was not unusual to represent a sword that possessed excellent qualities as being ornamented with gold, and the hilt is the part of the sword that naturally lends itself to ornamentation. Other examples of richly ornamented swords are King Arthur's sword, Excalibur, whose "pommel and haft were all of precious stones";⁹⁹ Roland's sword, Durendal, which had a golden hilt;¹⁰⁰ and the sword of Frothi II, which also had a golden hilt.¹⁰¹

The fact, therefore, that, both in regard to the giant-sword in *Beowulf* and King Hrolf's sword in the saga, the hilt is said to be golden proves nothing as to the identity of these two swords.

⁹⁶ L. 1698.

⁹⁷ "He gave the guardian of the boat a sword ornamented with gold" (ll. 1900-01).

⁹⁸ "Then the shield of earls, the king stout in battle, bade fetch in Hrethel's sword, mounted in gold; there was not then among the Geats a better treasure in the like of a sword. He laid it on *Beowulf's* lap." (Ll. 2190-94).—*Beow.*, Child.

⁹⁹ *Mort. d'Arth.*, p. 480.

¹⁰⁰ "En l'orie pont assez i aq reliques."—*Ext. Ch. Rol.*, p. 103.

¹⁰¹ "Preditum auro capulum."—*Gest. Dan.*, p. 118.

And when, both in the term "gylden hilt" and in the word "Gullin-hjalti," the hilt of the sword is made prominent, it is due, in the one instance, to the fact that nothing but the hilt remains; in the other, to the fact that the word "hjalti" is just the word that the author must have in order to explain the origin of Hjalti's new name.

A little more ought to be said about the propping-up of the dragon. That it served an excellent purpose is evident. It provided the occasion for Hjalti's asking for the king's sword, in the use of which he displayed his courage and from which he received his new name. Furthermore, Bjarki's interest in having Hott attack the beast and display his courage indicated that he knew that the beast was dead and that he had a special interest in having Hott recognized as a brave man. This, again, indicated that Bjarki had himself killed the beast and been the cause of the change in Hott's nature, for both of which he receives due credit. But it may be asked, when Bjarki propped the dead beast up, how could he know that events would take the turn they did? He could not know it. He relied on his resourcefulness to handle the situation, a resourcefulness on which he had drawn with success before. He was on hand in the morning to take note of developments, and we can imagine several possibilities that he might have had in mind. Had the king proposed that no risk should be taken with the beast, Bjarki could have requested and secured permission to attack it, taking Hott with him. Had the king himself proposed to attack the beast, or had he proposed that his warriors should attack it in a body, Bjarki could have said, "No, the king must not expose himself," or, "The king must not expose so many of his men at once; let me go." To which the king could have assented, whereupon Bjarki could have taken Hott with him and let Hott, at the last, proceed against the beast alone and knock it over. One can imagine other possibilities, which it is not necessary to enumerate here. To be sure, none of them would be so fortunate as the one represented as having occurred; but they would have enabled Hott to gain the reputation of being a brave man, and that is all Bjarki contemplated. That all turned out more fortunately than Bjarki had foreseen or even intended, enhances the interest of the story and illustrates the skill of the narrator, who chose to represent, as he had a right to do, that particular possibility as having actually occurred that produced the most satisfactory results. That

Bjarki had no thought of credit for himself, redounds, in the estimation of the reader, all the more to his credit; and it is a fitting reward that he gets full credit for all that he has done.

It seems, then, that Bjarki intended to deceive the king. He undoubtedly did; but the deception was not intended to mislead the king. Hott *was* brave and strong, and Bjarki knew it; and even if Hott's strength and bravery should gain recognition through the employment of a ruse that involved no real test, no harm would be done. The author, however, planned that all should turn out otherwise. The reader will also remember the deception practiced by the shepherd boy in the story from Jón Arnason's collection.¹⁰² The boy, who is there the hero of the story, as is Bjarki in the *Hrólfs saga*, is represented as deceiving his master, but likewise without doing him appreciable harm, and furthermore without raising reflections on the part of the author as to the rectitude of his conduct.

Panzer says that Hott's explanation that the repeated breaking-in of the monster is due to the fact that the king's best men do not return home at that time of the year is a strange explanation.¹⁰³ But in regard to Hott's statement a distinction must be made between fact and opinion. It is a fact, as the saga immediately afterwards shows, that the king's berserks are not at home; but it is only Hott's opinion that, if they were at home, they would be able to put an end to the depredations of the monster. It was quite natural, however, that he should think so; for to such an abject coward as he was, it must have seemed that nothing could resist such warriors as these berserks were. That they were not at home was due to the fact that they were on one of their regular expeditions. But why they had not been retained at home to cope with the dragon is not explained. The first time it appeared, it came entirely unexpected. The next year there may have been a question as to whether it would appear or not. The third year it was definitely expected. It seems, therefore, that preparations would have been made to resist it; and when the berserks are not retained at home to cope with the monster, it is due to the exigencies of the story. The berserks might have been retained at home to cope unsuccessfully with the monster, or avoid coping with it at all as the king's other men did, and thus place Bjarki's feat

¹⁰² See pp. 31 ff.

¹⁰³ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 370.

of slaying it in the strongest relief. But by letting the berserks be absent at Christmas and return later, the author accomplished more than this. Bjarki slew the monster, which, in any treatment of the story, he must be represented as doing. He seized one of the berserks, who demanded that Bjarki recognize him as his superior as a warrior, and threw him down with great violence. This was a more spectacular method of showing superiority to the berserks than merely doing what they dared not attempt to do, or could not do. But it is especially in the treatment of Hott, that skillful manipulation of the story is displayed in having the berserks return home and resume their boastful manner, after Hott has become strong and daring. Compared with the king's best warriors it is still a question as to how strong and brave Hott now is. The question is answered when he is requested to admit his inferiority to the berserks; for he seizes the one who confronts him and treats him as Bjarki is treating one of the others. Thus, in the presence of King Hrolf and the court, Hott displays his superiority to the doughtiest of the king's famous warriors. Finally, poetic justice is also achieved, for the very men who had made fun of Hott and thrown bones at him are now compelled to recognize that he is the master of them all.

Panzer sees a deeper meaning, than evidently is intended, in the statement that, as Bjarki was about to attack the dragon, his sword stuck fast in the scabbard.¹⁰⁴ There is no reason, however, for regarding it as anything more than a melodramatic incident characteristic of medieval romances. It reminds one of the following statement by Wilbur L. Cross, which, with the omission of the reference to "giants" and "Merlin," characterizes the *Hrólfs saga* quite accurately and shows how it harmonizes with the spirit of medieval literature of its kind, "It is true that they [i. e., the Arthurian romances] sought to interest, and did interest, by a free employment of the marvellous, fierce encounters of knights, fights with giants and dragons, swords that would not out of their scabbards, and the enchantments of Merlin."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 372.

¹⁰⁵ *Eng. Nov.*, p. 2.

The Stories in the BJARKARÍMUR of Bjarki's Slaying the Wolf and Hjaltri's Slaying the Bear.

But what is the relation of this story to the corresponding stories in the *Bjarkarímur*? The stories in the *rimur* are as follows:—

“Flestir ömuðu Hetti heldr,
hann var ekki í máli sneldr,
einn dag fóru þeir út af holl,
svó ekki vissi hirðin qll.

Hjalti talar er felmtínn fær,
‘förum við ekki skógi nær,
hér er sú ylgr sem etr upp menn,
okkr drepr hún báða senn.’

Ylgrin hljóp úr einum runn,
ógurllig með gapanda munn,
hörmuligt varð Hjalta viðr,
á honum skalf bæði leggr og liðr.

Ótæpt Bjarki að henni gengr,
ekki dvelr hann við það lengr,
höggur svó að í hamri stóð,
hljóp úr henni ferlligt blóð.
‘Kjóstu Hjalti um kosti tvó,
kappinn Bøðvar talaði svó,
drekki nú blóð eða drep eg þig hér,
dugrinn líz mér engi í þér.’

Ansar Hjalti af ærnum móð,
‘ekki þori eg að drekka blóð,
nýtir flest ef nauðigr skal,
nú er ekki á betra val.’

Hjalti gjörir sem Bøðvar biðr,
að blóði frá eg hann lagðist niðr,
drekkiur síðan drykki þrjá,
duga mun honum við einn að rjá.

Hugrinn óx en miklast mátt,
mínt var honum í litlu drátt,
raunmjög sterkr og ramr sem tröll,
rífnuðu af honum klæðin qll.

Svó er hann orðinn harðr í hug,
hann hræðist ekki járna flug,
burtu er nú bleyðin afn,
Bøðvari var hann að hreysti jafn.” (IV, 58-66).

“Hann hefr fengið hjartað snjalt
af hördum móði,
fekk hann huginn og aflið alt
af ylgjar blóði.

Í grindur vandist grábjörn einn
í garðinn Hleiðar,
var sá margur vargrinn beinn
og víða sveiðar.

Bjarka er kent, að hjarðarhunda
hafi hann drepna,
ekki er honum allvel hent
við ýta kepna.

Hrólfur býst og hirð hans öll
að húna stýri,
sá skal mestr í minni holl
er mætir dýri.

Beljandi hljóp björninn fram
úr bóli krukku.
veifar sínum vóna hramm,
svó virðar hrukku.

Hjalti sér og horfir þá á,
er hafin er róma,
hafði hann ekki í höndum þá
nema hnefana tóma.

Hrólfur fleygði að Hjalta þá
þeim hildar vendi,
kappinn móti krummu brá
og klótið hendi.

Lagði hann síðan björninn brátt
við bóginn hægra,
bessi fell í brúðar átt
og bar sig lægra.

Vann hann það til frægða fyst
og fleira síðar,
hans var lundin löngum byst
í leiki gríðar.

Hér með fekk hann Hjalta nafn
hins hjartaprúða,
Bjarki var eigi betri en jafn
við býti skróða." (V, 4-13).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ *Hrs. Bjark.*, pp. 139-40 and 141-42. Lawrence's translation of the above selections from the *rimur* is as follows:—

"Most of the men insulted Hjalti; he was not clever in speech. One day they (Bjarki and Hjalti) went out of the hall, so that the king's men did not know of it. Hjalti was afraid, and cried, 'Let us not go near this wood; there

These stories seem, indeed, at first sight more rational than the story in the saga, and have features more in harmony with the account in Saxo; but this does not prove that they are earlier than the version in the saga. In the first place, by introducing two animals, where the other versions have only one, the author of the *rtmur* has broken the unity of the story, a feature in which the story in the *Hrólfs saga* remains intact and as a consequence is nearer to the primitive form of the story as we find it in Saxo. In the second place, the author of the *rtmur* made precisely the changes that were necessary to remove the most irrational features of the story as we find it in the *Hrólfs saga*. The troll-dragon, which is an unusual creature, has been supplanted by the more conventional creatures, a wolf and a bear; and by the employment of two animals, the necessity of causing a dead animal to be propped up and be apparently killed again, is avoided. Consistency in the treatment of Bjarki as the descendant of a bear is also observed to the extent that he is said to kill a wolf, not a bear; but this consistency has begun to fade and suffer to the extent that

is a she-wolf here, which eats men; she will soon kill us both.' The she-wolf burst out of a thicket, frightful, with gaping jaws. Hjalti thought this terrible; his legs and all his limbs trembled. Undaunted Bjarki advanced upon her, struck deep with his axe; fearful blood streamed from the she-wolf. 'Between two things,' said Bothvar, 'shall you choose, Hjalti,—drink this blood, or I will kill you, no courage seems to be in you.' Angrily answered Hjalti, 'I don't dare to drink blood; (but) it is best to do it if I must; now I have no better choice.' He lay down to drink the blood; then he drank three swallows,—enough for fighting with one man! His courage increased, his strength waxed, he became very strong, mighty as a troll, all his clothes burst open. So he became courageous at heart, he feared not the flight of steel, the name of coward he feared no more, he was equal to Bothvar in courage." (IV, 58-66.)

"He (Hjalti) has gained a brave heart and a courageous disposition; he has got strength and valor from the blood of the she-wolf. The folds at Hleidargard were attacked by a gray bear; many such beasts were there far and wide thereabout. Bjarki was told that it had killed the herdmen's dogs; it was not much used to contending with men. Hrolf and all his men prepared to hunt the bear—'he shall be greatest in my hall, who faces the beast!' Roaring the bear ran from its lair and shook its baleful paws, so that the men fled. Hjalti looked on when the combat began; he had nothing in his hands. Hrolf tossed to Hjalti his sword; the warrior stretched forth his hand and grasped it. Then he plunged it into the bear's right shoulder, and the bear fell down dead. That was his first heroic deed, many others followed; his heart was ever brave in the battle. From this exploit he got the name of Hjalti the brave, and was the equal of Bjarki." (V, 4-13.)—*P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, pp. 229-30.

Bjarki accompanies Hrolf on a bear hunt. It is probable, however, that consistency in the treatment of Bjarki in this respect is not contemplated, but that when he is said to kill a wolf it is only that the larger and more dangerous animal may be reserved as the one on which Hjalti is to show his strength and courage and in order that an animal worthy of the king's attention may be reserved for the royal hunt. To eat wolf meat in order to gain strength has just as good warrant in Old Norse literature as to drink the blood of a bear;¹⁰⁷ this, in so far, justifies the introduction in the *rimur* of the wolf. But when Hjalti is made to *drink the blood* of the wolf, it seems to be another instance of the author's keeping in mind the version of the story in the *Hrólfs saga*, where Hjalti drinks the blood of the dragon. It is not necessary to go to Saxo's version for this.

It is said in the *rimur*, "One day they (Bjarki and Hjalti) went out of the hall, so that the king's men did not know of it." Why did they go out of the hall so that the king's men did not know of it? No reason is assigned; the deed is unmotivated. It seems to be a mere harking back to the statement in the *Hrólfs saga*,¹⁰⁸ that the two men left the hall secretly. But in the saga there is a reason for their leaving the hall secretly; the king has forbidden his men to leave the hall and expose themselves to attack. That, in the *rimur*, the men are said to leave the hall in the daytime, instead of at night, is a consequence of the substitution of the wolf for the troll-dragon; a wolf is usually hunted in the daytime. It might be surmised that their going out secretly is in imitation of the story as Saxo knew it. But this is not the case; Saxo does not say that Bjarki and Hjalti went out secretly.¹⁰⁹ The weakness of this feature of the story in the *rimur* has been observed by Panzer, who believes, nevertheless, that the *rimur* represent an earlier form of the story than the one in the saga. He says, "Zweifeln möchte man nur, ob das Motiv des heimlichen Auszugs der beiden nicht in den *Rimur* fälschlich in den ersten Kampf gesetzt ist, wo es ganz unbegründet steht, statt in den zweiten, wo

¹⁰⁷ *Helt.*, I, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸ When, here and elsewhere in this discussion, the *Hrólfs saga* is referred to as an earlier composition than the *Bjarkarimur*, the implication is not intended that the version of the saga which we now have was earlier committed to writing.

¹⁰⁹ See p. 51.

es allein motiviert erscheint."¹¹⁰ But this is not the correct explanation. The author of the *rimur* for some reason, such as a wish to rationalize the story, but which, however, we can only surmise, decided to make radical changes in it. In the first instance he substitutes a wolf for the dragon, but otherwise, considering the material he is going to use in the story of the fight with the bear, retains as much as he can of the story as it is in the saga. Thus the idea of Bjarki's and Hjalti's going out secretly is retained, but without motivation; and if we did not have the story in the saga for comparison, perhaps this deficiency would not have been noticed. Even as it is, Panzer is the only one who has called attention to it.

Referring to the story as Saxo has it, Müllenhoff,¹¹¹ ten Brink,¹¹² Olrik,¹¹³ and Deutschbein¹¹⁴ speak of Bjarki's going on a hunt. This is hardly correct and requires a little attention, for, if, in Saxo's version, Bjarki went on a hunt, the account given by Saxo is nearer to the first story in the *rimur* than if he did not. But Saxo does not say that Bjarki went on a hunt. He says: "Talibus operum meritis exultanti nouam de se siluestris fera uictoriam prebuit. Vrsus quippe eximie magnitudinis obuium sibi interdum factum iaculo confecit, comitemque suum Ialtonem, quo uiribus maior euaderet, applicato ore egestum belue cruorem haurire iussit. Creditum namque erat, hoc pocionis genere corporei roboris incrementa prestari."¹¹⁵ The circumstances immediately preceding the slaying of the bear were such, that it is highly improbable that, at that particular time, he would go on a hunt. It will be remembered that there was to be a wedding in the royal residence; that Agnar was to marry the king's sister; that Agnar took offense at Bjarki's manner of defending Hjalti, whereupon

¹¹⁰ *St. germ. Sag.*, p. 367.

¹¹¹ *Beow. Unt. Ang.*, p. 55.

¹¹² *Beow. Unt.*, p. 186.

¹¹³ *Hell.*, I, p. 116.

¹¹⁴ *St. Sag. Eng.*, p. 250.

¹¹⁵ *Gest. Dan.*, p. 56. Elton's translation of the passage is as follows: "When he was triumphing in these deeds of prowess, a beast of the forest furnished him fresh laurels. For he met a huge bear in a thicket, and slew it with a javelin; and then bade his companion Hjalti put his lips to the beast and drink the blood that came out, that he might be the stronger afterwards. For it was believed that a draught of this sort caused an increase of bodily strength."—*Elton's Saxo*, p. 69.

a fight ensued and Bjarki killed Agnar and his warriors. But if Bjarki did not go on a hunt for the bear, how did he come to meet it, and in a thicket at that? The lack of more details, the lack of motivation for going on a hunt in the midst of, or immediately following, the stirring events just mentioned, and utter lack of connection with what precedes, show that Saxo, who, with this story, begins to set the stage, so to speak, for the last grand act of King Hrolf's life, concluded to insert it at this juncture as the most appropriate and effective place he had for it, and then, to add a touch of realism and supply a retreat where the bear would be unobserved by the men, and unwarned of their approach, until they were close upon it, said that Bjarki met it in a thicket. The idea of supplying a motive and observing such consistency as we find in connection with the corresponding story in the *Hrólfs saga* never occurred to him. The author of the *rímur* may have known of the version of the story familiar to Saxo, though it is not probable; but the point here is, that he is not following this version when he represents Bjarki as having slain an animal for which he has presumably (though the *rímur* do not make the matter clear) gone on a hunt.

The author was under no more obligation than Saxo was, to say that Bjarki and Hjalti went out secretly, and the idea is not contained in Saxo's account. But the author of the *rímur*, observing what pains the author of the saga took to motivate the going out secretly, felt that this feature of the story was so important that it must be retained, and so he retained it without motivation.

In Saxo, Hjalti shows no fear when the bear is met, and he does not refuse to drink the animal's blood. But in the *rímur* there is the same kind of fear as in the saga. In the saga, however, the author has found an excellent setting for Hjalti's fear; it is beyond improvement; while the ferocity of the man-eating wolf, in the *rímur*, is stretched to the utmost limit, in order to preserve the spirit of the heroic. Furthermore, when Hjalti had drunk of the blood of the wolf, he had courage "enough for fighting with one man." How did the author know that he had just courage "enough for fighting with one man"? According to the next statement, namely "his courage increased, his strength waxed, he became very strong, mighty as a troll, all his clothes burst open," he seemed, in fact, to have gained strength enough for fighting with several men. Again, "he was equal to Bothvar in courage."

How did the author know it? He knew it from the version of the story in the saga, where it is said that Hjalti had wrestled long with Bothvar, and, thus having tried his strength on Bothvar, told him, "nor shall I be afraid of you henceforth." The saga does not say that Hjalti had courage "enough for fighting with one man" or "he was equal to Bothvar in courage." These statements are deductions that the author of the *rímur* made from the story in the saga, in the light of subsequent events.

In the *rímur*, it is said that Hjalti "became very strong, mighty as a troll, all his clothes burst open." Why, or whence, this reference to a troll? Another harking back to the *Hrólfs saga*, another deduction made from the story in the saga. The saga does not say that Hott acquired any of the characteristics of a troll. He is given the desired strength without any reference to the strength of a troll. But when the *rímur* say that he became "mighty as a troll," it amounts to saying, "Hjalti is no longer represented as having drunk the blood of a troll and eaten some of its heart, as is the case in the *Hrólfs saga*, but let it be understood, nevertheless, that the strength he has acquired is no less than that of a troll." The troll-dragon has been eliminated, but so great, in the *rímur*, has the strength of Hjalti become that it now equals that of the very monster, the troll, which, in the saga, he feared to such an extent that it rendered him pitiable in the extreme. Here again the author of the *rímur* inserted an element that is wholly foreign to his story and unsuggested by it, but that is suggested by the saga, and that he probably never would have thought of, had he not known of the version of the story that is contained in the saga.

Furthermore, the *rímur* say, "The folds at Hleidargard were attacked by a gray bear; many such beasts were there far and wide thereabout. Bjarki was told that it had killed the herdsmen's dogs; it was not much used to contending with men." This is still another harking back to the *Hrólfs saga*, and confirms what has been said on pp. 29 ff., that the monster in the saga is a cattle-attacking monster, not a hall-attacking monster. "The folds were attacked," "it had killed the herdsmen's dogs," "it was not much used to contending with men."

The fact that dogs are here said to be killed, but not in the saga, need hardly be mentioned. The idea of dogs is easily associated

with that of cattle, especially when, as here, the dogs are "herdsmen's dogs."

Again, we notice the statement in the *rtmur* that "Hrolf tossed to Hjalti his sword." Has he been informed since the slaying of the wolf, that Hjalti is now a courageous man? Perhaps; but nothing is said about it in the *rtmur*. Since Bjarki took pains to go on the wolf hunt secretly, and since we are not informed that what occurred on that hunt has become known or that it has become known that Hjalti is now a courageous man, the presumption is that the king does not know it, and we are surprised at his unmotivated action in treating Hjalti in this unexpected manner. And if Hjalti is now known to be such a hero that Hrolf feels warranted in placing reliance on him to the extent that he tosses him his sword at this critical juncture, why has Hjalti taken part in the hunt with "nothing in his hands"? In the saga it is not said that Hjalti has nothing in his hands; his motive in asking for the king's sword has no connection with whether he has anything in his hands or not.¹¹⁶ But the author of the *rtmur*, having apparently missed the point in the saga, assumes that, when Hjalti asks for the king's sword, it is because he has no weapon of his own. Hence, without realizing, apparently, the anomalous situation in which he places Hjalti, who is now strong and courageous, he represents him as taking part in the bear hunt empty-handed, though there is no indication that Hjalti thinks that he can cope with the animal without a weapon.

In the *Hrólfs saga*, it is said that Bjarki killed a dragon by plunging his sword under its shoulder. In the *rtmur*, it is said that Hjalti killed a bear by plunging his sword into its right shoulder. This is another harking back to the *Hrólfs saga*. Hjalti has now become as courageous as Bjarki; he kills a live animal (instead of knocking over a dead one), and he kills it in just the same way that Bjarki killed the dragon. It can not be assumed that the author of the *rtmur* and the author of the saga employed this manner of dispatching the animal without any knowledge on the part of the one as to what was contained in the account of the other. In fact, it is taken for granted by all writers on the subject that the later account is an altered version of the earlier account. Hence, either this episode in the *rtmur* is modeled after that in the saga, and Hjalti is made to kill the bear in the same

¹¹⁶ See pp. 36 ff.

way that Bjarki killed the dragon, or the episode in the saga is modeled after that in the *rtmur*, and Bjarki is made to kill the dragon in the same way that Hjalti killed the bear. Is there any doubt as to what has occurred? The former is natural and to be expected, and is probably what has taken place, because: 1. in all the versions of the story Hjalti is represented as having undergone a change that has caused him to become very much like Bjarki—"equal to Bjarki," as it is stated in the *rtmur*, where he is represented as having killed a ferocious beast in the same manner that Bjarki, in the saga, killed a winged monster; 2. it was not unusual to represent dragons as having been killed by being pierced under the shoulder,¹¹⁷ since a dragon had to be pierced where its scales did not prevent the entrance of a weapon into its body; 3. since there is no special reason why a bear, which is vulnerable in all parts of the body, should be represented as being pierced through the shoulder, the manner in which Hjalti is said to have killed the bear is evidently another unmotivated incident in the *rtmur* that is imitated from a motivated incident in the saga.

What the author of the *rtmur* has done to give the story the form in which we find it in his composition is quite plain. He noticed that, as the monster in the saga attacked the folds at Hleidargard, the situation was very much like that at the beginning of the story about Bothvar in the saga, where a bear is said to have attacked the cattle of King Hring, Bothvar's father.¹¹⁸ But a bear is a real, not an imaginary, animal, and King Hring took a creditable part in the effort to dispatch it. Hence, this story was substituted for the story about the troll-dragon and adapted to the circumstances, King Hrolf himself taking the lead in the hunt and thus acting in a manner that seemed more to his credit than the way he acted in regard to the monster in the saga.

This story, namely that the man whose cattle have been killed by a bear goes with his men and hunts it down and kills it, is the same that we have in connection with the early life both of Ulf and of Bjarki, where the bear is represented as being the great-

¹¹⁷ See, for instance, *Sc. Folkl.*, p. 253, where dragons are said to have been pierced "under their shoulders to the heart."

¹¹⁸ Finnur Jónsson has also been struck by the similarity between the story connected with Bjarki's birth and the second story in the *rtmur*, in which Hjalti slays a bear. He says, "I rimarne (V, 5-14) er der endnu tale om en 'gråbjörn.'"—*Hrs. Bjark.*, Intro., p. 22.

grandfather of the former, but the father of the latter. The bear-ancestor feature was not applicable in the connection in which the story is used in the *rímur*; hence, it was omitted. Now, did this story spring up spontaneously and independently in all these three instances? No, Bjarki and Ulf got their reputed ancestry from the Siward story; and this bear hunt story they got from a common source through contact with each other, or Bjarki got it from Ulf. The author of the *rímur*, liking it better than the last part of the dragon story in the saga, as most modern readers also have done, took it from the version contained in the saga of the early life of Bjarki and used it for letting Hjalti display his courage. As a result, he modified the story where it applies to the early life of Bjarki. He has two sets of three sons each, while the saga has only one set; and, what is still more suspicious, there is a Bothvar in each set. This is the same kind of separation or repetition as the *rímur* later make with regard to the dragon story, dividing it into a wolf story and a bear story. Again, as Finnur Jónsson, summarizing the account in the *rímur* of the death of Bjarki's father, says, "Björn forfølges, flygter ud i et skær og dræbes der af jarlens mænd på et skib (en stærk afvigelse fra sagaen)."¹¹⁹ This divergence was plainly introduced to make the story different from the story that, in substance, was replaced and that was transferred to where Hjalti displays his courage. In the saga, Bjarki's mother is called Bera (she-bear),¹²⁰ not Hildir, as in the *rímur*; and that the name Bera is the earlier of the two there can be no doubt.

Furthermore, we find in the *rímur* another of the characteristic traces that the author left when he tampered with the dragon story. In the saga, in connection with Bjarki's early life, it is said that when the bear was hunted, it killed all the dogs, but was itself soon after killed by the men. From this the author concluded that it was death on dogs, but could not contend successfully with men. Hence, he says, "Bjarki was told that it had killed the herdsmen's dogs;¹²¹ it was not much used to contending with men." This statement must, therefore, mean, if

¹¹⁹ *Hrs. Bjark.*, Introd., p. 18.

¹²⁰ See p. 16.

¹²¹ The dogs are here said to be the herdsmen's dogs, in conformity with the spirit of the story in its new setting and to differentiate the story from what it is in the place whence the author of the *rímur* took it.

it means anything, that the bear was not really dangerous to men or, at any rate, not as dangerous as one would naturally suppose. Hjalti must have known this as well as Bjarki, for it was probably he who gave Bjarki the information about the beast, as he did in the corresponding situation in the saga and in the story of the slaying of the wolf. If this was the case, the bravery that Hjalti displays in attacking the animal suffers considerably. The statement reminds us of the situation in the *Hrólfs saga*. Just as Hjalti knocked over a dragon that was not dangerous because it was dead, so, in the *rtmur*, he dispatched a bear that was not particularly dangerous because "it was not much used to contending with men." In the former instance, however, the feat was not the real test of his courage; in the latter instance, it was.

In the saga, Bjarki knew that the dragon was harmless, because he had killed it; and his knowledge of its harmlessness is vital to the latter part of the dragon story. In the *rtmur*, he is informed that the bear is not so dangerous as one would suppose. But his knowledge of this circumstance has no bearing on the story whatever; everything would have proceeded just as it did if he had been without this information. But in spite of the fact that the bear "was not much used to contending with men," "the men fled" when it "ran from its lair and shook its baleful paws." The author is evidently trying to ride two steeds going in different directions. On the one hand, he has in mind the story of the bear with which Bjarki's father was identified and which was killed by the king's men, and the story of the dead propped-up dragon, which was, of course, not dangerous; on the other hand, he wishes to represent Hjalti's feat of killing the bear, which, in the *rtmur*, the king's men avoided, as, in the saga, they avoided the dragon, as a notable achievement.

Finally, "Hrolf and all his men" took part in the hunt; but, as already stated, when the bear appeared, "the men fled." The statement, "the men fled," introduces a feature that is wanting in the account in the *Hrólfs saga* of how Bjarki's father, who had been transformed into a bear by his stepmother, was hunted down and killed. It reminds us of the situation in the saga where King Hrolf and his men avoid the winged monster by remaining indoors when it is expected. In the saga, Bjarki, of course, did not avoid the monster; but whether, in the *rtmur*, the king fled is uncertain. He was, in any event, near enough to Hjalti to toss

Hjalti his sword. Bjarki, however, must have fled; and while that would be strange under any circumstances, it would be particularly strange in the present instance, since he knew that the bear "was not much used to contending with men."

Considering the dragon story in the saga and the corresponding stories in the *rímur*, it is apparent that there is no comparison between them as regards skill in composition; and that, while the stories in the *rímur* throw no light on the story in the saga, the full significance of the *rímur* stories appears only when they are read in the light of the story in the saga. Therefore, when Finnur Jónsson says, "Spørger vi om, hvad der er oprindeligt, er der i og for sig næppe tvivl om, at rimerne her har af ét dyr gjort to (ulvinden og gråbjørnen), så at sagaen på dette punkt må antages at have bedre bevaret det ægte," he is undoubtedly right; but when he continues, "Dette bestyrkes kraftig ved, at dette hallen hjem-søgende uhyre intet andet er end et om end ændret og afbleget minde om Grendel i *Bjovulf*,"¹²² he is, as the evidence also shows, undoubtedly wrong.

The fact of the matter is that the account in the *rímur* of the killing of the bear, though brief, is so confused and indefinite that it does not bear analysis; and this is further evidence of the fact that the author of the *rímur* clumsily re-worked material that he found in the *Hrólfs saga* version of Bjarki's career, and for the dragon story, which is a good story, substituted two poor ones, namely the wolf story and the bear story.

But the troll-dragon having been eliminated and the bear story selected as the one to be used in connection with Hjalti's display of his newly acquired bravery, for which purpose it is, indeed, on account of the presence of the king and his court, more appropriate than for giving Hjalti an opportunity to imbibe secretly an animal's blood, another story had to be devised to account for Hjalti's strength and courage. The wolf was the next fiercest animal available that the author could think of. He therefore invented a wolf story and placed it first; and, as the examination of it has shown,¹²³ a late and very poor invention it was, bearing manifest traces of the influence of the dragon story in the saga.

¹²² *Hrs. Bjark.*, Introd., p. 22.

¹²³ See pp. 50 ff.

Conclusion.

The principal results attained in the foregoing consideration of the dragon story in the *Hrólfs saga* and the corresponding stories in the *Bjarkarmur* may be stated briefly as follows:—

1. The story in Saxo is the earliest story we have of the slaying of an animal by Bjarki in order that Hjalti may drink its blood and acquire strength and courage.

2. Bjarki having acquired a reputed bear-ancestry from the fictitious story about Siward, the saga consistently takes this into account and substitutes a dragon, also acquired from the story about Siward, for the bear, which, in Saxo's version, is the kind of animal that Bjarki slays.

3. To motivate Bjarki's going forth secretly to slay the monster at night, a well defined type of Christmas-troll story is employed and the dragon is given the nature of a troll that comes on Christmas Eve and attacks the cattle of the king, who, on account of the terrible nature of the monster, commands his men to stay in the house the night it is expected.

4. That Bjarki may be given credit a) for slaying the monster and b) for making a brave man of the coward Hott, and that c) Hott's change of nature may become apparent and d) a suitable opportunity and plausible reason may be devised for changing his name to Hjalti, the dead dragon is propped up and, in connection with the discovery of the ruse, the story is manipulated so that the saga-man realizes his fourfold purpose.

5. It is highly improbable that the sword-name "Gullinhjalti" in the saga is connected with the words "gylden hilt" in *Beowulf*. The use of the word "Gullinhjalti" in the saga is not arbitrary or artificial, but a logical result of the situation; and, as the discussion of the matter has shown, the attempt to identify Gullinhjalti with the giant-sword in *Beowulf* is based on a mere superficial similarity, in which a substantial foundation is altogether lacking.

6. The *Bjarkarmur* are a later composition than the *Hrólfs saga*.¹²⁴ The author of the *rtmur* has discarded the story of the troll-dragon, has substituted for it the story of the bear hunt connected with the account of Bjarki's early life, has invented a new story about Bjarki's early life, and has invented the story about

¹²⁴ For further proof of this, see pp. 81 ff.

the wolf hunt to give an opportunity for the introduction of the blood-drinking episode. In the stories of the wolf hunt and the bear hunt, the *rímur* contain several unmotivated statements that are plainly based on the story as we have it in the saga; and, on the whole, the two stories in the *rímur* represent such decidedly poor workmanship in the art of narration that recourse must be had to the story in the saga for a realization of the significance of some of the incidents contained in the *rímur*. The *rímur* must therefore be left entirely out of account in any attempt to identify Bjarki with Beowulf, or in attempting to connect Bjarki's deeds with those of other heroes, as, for instance, that of Hereward in *Gesta Herwardi*.¹²⁵

In regard to some particulars, these conclusions differ from the conclusions at which others have arrived; in regard to others, they agree with them. This, however, is a mere matter of chance; for, where some have affirmed and others have denied, it is impossible to avoid agreeing with one party or the other, whatever conclusion an investigation may lead to. Nor should there be any desire to strive for what is new, merely for its own sake. The merit of the foregoing discussion, if it has any, lies in the explanation of the story about Bjarki and the dragon in the *Hrólfs-saga* and the explanation of the relation between this story and the corresponding stories in the *Bjarkarmur*. This explanation is new, and the writer believes that he has given sufficient reasons to prove that it is correct. If it is correct, it shows that the stories in the *rímur* are less admirable compositions than they are usually held to be; it shows that the dragon story in the saga is a better composition than it is usually taken to be; and, finally, it establishes the fact that the dragon story in the *Hrólfs-saga* has no connection whatever with the Grendel story or the dragon story in *Beowulf*.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ See p. 11.

¹²⁶ In the foregoing no implication is intended as to the identity of the story of Beowulf's fight with Grendel and Saxo's story of Bjarki's slaying the bear. The result, however, of the discussion is to establish the priority of Saxo's story to that in the *Hrólfs-saga*; hence, an attempt to identify Bjarki's exploit with Beowulf's exploit must consist principally in an attempt to identify the Grendel story with Saxo's version of the corresponding story told about Bjarki.

II

FRÓÐAÞÁTTA

The first appearance of Hroar (Hrothgar) in literature is in *Widsith* and *Beowulf*, where we become acquainted with him as the famous King of the Danes. Helgi (Halga) appears first in *Beowulf*, where he is scarcely more than mentioned. Hroar and Helgi belong to the most famous group of ancient kings in Denmark and appear repeatedly in old Scandinavian literature. The account of them in the *Fróðaþáttur*, which introduces the *Hrólfs saga*, is, briefly summarized, as follows.

Halfdan and Frothi were brothers, the sons of a king, and each was the ruler of a kingdom. Halfdan had two sons, Hroar and Helgi, and a daughter, Signy, the oldest of the three children, who was married to Earl Sævil while her brothers were still young. The boys' foster-father was Regin. Near Halfdan's capital was a wooded island, on which lived an old man, Vifil, a friend of Halfdan. Vifil had two dogs, called Hopp and Ho, and was skilled in soothsaying.

Frothi, envying his brother the crown of Denmark, attacked his capital with a large army, reduced it to ashes, and took Halfdan captive and put him to death. Regin took his foster-sons, Hroar and Helgi, to the island and placed them in the care of Vifil, in order that they might not fall into the hands of Frothi. Vifil took them to a cave (earth-hut), where they usually stayed at night; but in the daytime they sported in the grove. Frothi made every effort to locate them and make away with them, calling in witches and wise men from all over the land to tell him where they were, but in vain. Then he called in soothsayers, who told him the boys were not on the mainland, nor far from the court. The king mentioned Vifil's island, and they told him to look for the boys there. Twice he sent men to search for them, but the men failed to find them. Then the king went himself. Vifil, who knew the king was coming, met him on the strand as if by chance, pretending to be looking after his sheep; and when the king bade his men seize Vifil, the old man said, "Do not detain me, or the wolves will destroy my sheep," and cried out, "Hopp and Ho, guard my sheep." The king asked him to whom he was calling; he said, to his dogs. But he had told the boys before, that, when he called out the names of his dogs, they should hide in the cave. The king failed to

find the boys and returned; but Vifil told the boys that it was not safe for them to remain on the island and sent them to their brother-in-law, Sævil, saying that they would some day be famous, unless, perchance, something prevented it.

Hroar was now twelve years old and Helgi ten. The boys returned to Sævil, but, calling themselves Hrani and Hamur, did not tell him who they were; and as they always wore masks, their identity remained unknown to him.

Frothi invited Sævil to a feast. Hroar and Helgi expressed a wish to join him; but Sævil commanded them to remain at home. Nevertheless, when Sævil and his retinue had started off, Helgi got an untamed colt, and mounting it with his face toward the horse's tail, set out, acting all the while very foolishly. Hroar also mounted a colt, and joined him; and the two overtook the company. They galloped back and forth beside Sævil's retinue, until finally Helgi's mask fell off, and then Signy recognized him. She began to weep, and when Sævil asked her the cause of her distress, she informed him of her discovery. Sævil tried to get the boys to return home; but, though they now were on foot and remained in the rear, they persisted in accompanying him on his visit to Frothi.

When they arrived at Frothi's, Frothi began to hunt for the boys, and bade a witch, who had come to the hall, to try her skill in finding them. She told him that they were in the hall. Then Signy threw her a gold ring, and the witch said that what she had just stated was false. Frothi threatened to torture her if she did not tell the truth; and she said that unless he soon prevented it, which he would not do, the boys would be his death. But the boys, terrified, fled to the wood. The king ordered his men to seize them; but Regin put out the lights in the hall, and, in the confusion that followed, those who were friendly to the boys used the opportunity to obstruct those who would pursue them. Frothi vowed that he would take vengeance at a more suitable time on those who had assisted the boys, but added, "Let us now drink and feast"; and this they did till the men lay in a drunken stupor in a heap on the floor.

Regin rode out to where the boys were, but would not return their salutation. In fact, he pretended to be angry. They wondered what this meant, and followed him. Helgi thought that Regin wanted to help them, but without violating his oath to the king.

Then Regin said to himself, so that the boys heard it, "If I had a matter to settle with the king, I would burn this grove." They took the hint and started a fire. Sævil came out with all his men and bade them aid the boys, and Regin took measures to get all his men and relatives out of the hall. The king awoke from a dream, in which the goddess of the nether world was summoning him. He discovered the fire, and learning who had set it, offered the boys peace on their own terms; but terms of peace were denied. Frothi then retired from the door of the hall, hoping to escape by an underground passage; but at the entrance stood Regin, who blocked his progress, and he returned into the hall and perished in the flames. His wife, Sigrith (now mentioned for the first time), the mother of Hroar and Helgi, refused to leave the hall and perished also.

The boys thanked their brother-in-law, Sævil, and their foster-father, Regin, and all the others who had helped them, and gave the men rich gifts. The boys subdued the whole land and seized the late king's possessions; and for a while the time passed without the occurrence of anything worthy of special mention.

At this time there was a king by the name of Northri, who ruled over a part of England. Hroar often passed long intervals at the court of Northri, supporting him against his enemies and defending his land. Hroar married Ögn, the daughter of Northri, shared the royal power with his father-in-law, and after Northri's death succeeded to the throne of Northumberland. Helgi remained at home, and, by agreement with Hroar, became sole King of Denmark.

In Saxo's seventh book, there is another version of the same story. The features in which it chiefly varies from the version in the *Hrólfs saga* are as follows.

Halfdan's name has become Harald; Hroar's and Helgi's names have become Harald and Halfdan; Earl Sævil has become Siward, King of Sweden; Signy has become a daughter of Karl, governor of Gautland, and wife of Harald (Frothi's brother). Envy and the quarrelsomeness of Frothi's wife and Harald's wife cause Frothi to engage men to murder Harald. Frothi tries to avoid suspicion of being the author of the crime, but in vain; the people believe he is guilty. When he seeks the boys of the murdered king, to put them out of the way, their foster-parents bind the claws of wolves under the boys' feet and let them run about and fill a neighboring morass and the snow-covered ground with their

tracks, whereupon the children of bond-women are put to death and the children's bodies torn to pieces and strewn about. This is done to give the impression that the boys have been torn to pieces by wolves. Then the boys are concealed in a large hollow oak, where food is brought them under the pretence that they are dogs. Dogs' names are also applied to them. The episode with the witch is present, but other men and women with superhuman power are not introduced. The whereabouts of the boys begins to be bruited about, and Ragnar, their foster-father, flees with them to Fyen. He is captured and admits that he has the boys in his protection; but he begs the king not to injure them, calls attention to the foulness of doing them harm, and promises, in case they make any disturbance in the kingdom, to report the matter to the king. Frothi, whose severity Ragnar thus transforms into mildness, spares the boys, and for many years they live in security. When they are grown up, they go to Seeland. Their friends urge them to avenge their father's death, and this they promise to do. Ragnar, when he hears of this, reports it to the king in accordance with his promise, whereupon the king proceeds against them with an army. In desperation, the boys pretend insanity; and, as it is considered shameful to attack people who are insane, the king again spares them. But in the night the boys set fire to his hall, after having stoned the queen to death; and Frothi, having hid himself in a secret underground passage, perishes from the effects of smoke and gas. The boys share the crown, ruling the kingdom by turns.

Before proceeding further, it would be well to have a summary of the relations of the Danish kings concerned, up to the last stage of development, the stage with which we are dealing; and this summary is best supplied by quoting the following from Olrik's *Danmarks Heltedigtning*.¹²⁷—

"Der er en fortælling, som har banet Skjoldungsagnene vej til manges hjerter, i vort århundrede ikke mindre end på selve saga-fortællingens tid: sagnene om de to unge kongesønner Hroar og Helge, der må skjule sig for deres faders morder og tronraner, farbroderen Frode, men som efter en række æventyrlige oplevelser på den enlige holm og i selve kongsgården ser lejlighed til at fuldføre hævn og hæve sig på tronen. En strålende begyndelse på den navnkundige kongeaets mange skæbner! Det er denne fortællings udspring, vi nu skal søge.

¹²⁷ I, pp. 175-78.

"Tidligst foreligger den i en norsk saga fra 12te årh., der åbner Saksens 7de bog; men smukkest er den islandske *Hrólfs saga*. Desuden foreligger den kort og krönikeagtig i den islandske *Skjöldunga-saga*, som lader brodermorderen hedde Ingjald og ikke Frode.

"Med disse kilder når vi dog kun til det egenlige sagamands-område, Norge og Island. I Danmark er fortællingen ukendt; og Sakse og Svend Ågesön er enige om den lige modsatte overlevering: det er Halvdan, der slår sin broder Frode eller begge sine brødre ihjel for at vinde herredømmet alene. Det er ikke rimeligt, at den danske overlevering skulde have dels forvansket, dels tabt den mere ægte norske; ti fortællingen om de forfulgte kongesønner er så let at huske som et æventyr og vil vanskelig gå i glemme, naar den først er hørt.

"Også den ældste sagnform, Beovulfkvadets, kender kampen om herredømmet imellem Halvdan og Frode; men der er den forskel, at den ene er konge over Danerne, den anden over Had-Barderne, og det er imellem disse to folkestammer, striden udkæmpes. Det synes snarest, som om Frode er falden i kampen (flere forskere opfatter stedet således); i hvert fald tillader sammenhængen næppe, at Halvdan kan være falden imod Frode. For så vidt står denne ældste form nærmest ved den senere danske overlevering, fjærnere fra den norske.

"Som Halvdans broderdrab fortælles hos Sakse og Svend Ågesön, står det løsrevet, vi kan godt sige meningsløst. Det över ingen episk indflydelse på Skjoldungernes liv, og der rammer heller ikke Halvdan eller hans æt nogen moralsk gengældelse. Med god grund undrer Sakse sig over denne livsskæbne, at den grumme drabsmand kan dö en fredelig död i sin alderdom; ti det er ganske mod heltedigtningens ånd. Forklaringen derpå har vi til dels i den ældre sagnform: broderkampen er opstået af den gamle folkekamp, hvor Had-Barderne lå under for Danerne; men tillige må der være bristet en episk sammenknytning. I næste slægtled af Skjoldungætten er det et ret gammelt sagnmotiv, at Hrörík overfalder og fælder Hroar; han har sikkert været opfattet som Frodes søn og hævnner, ikke blot i norsk men også i gammel dansk overlevering.

"Den særlig norske form er da bleven til, ved at man vendte broderdrabet om. Det er en sagndannelse af ganske samme art som den, der gjorde Hrörík til Hroars drabsmand; helteætten kom til at stå skyldfri. Det næste trin var at udvikle denne ny situation med Halvdansönnernes fredlöshed og deres faderhævn. Vi har

en gammel kilde, der viser, at udviklingen virkelig er gået i disse to trin. *Grottesangen* slutter med spådom om, at 'Yrsas sön [Rolf] skal hævne Halvdans drab på Frode.' Da kvædet synes digtet af en Nordmand i 10de årh., har vi i alt fire tidsfæstede udviklingstrin af sagnet:

"1. Danekongen Halvdan kæmper med Hadbardekongen Frode og har formodenlig fældet ham (*Beovulf*).

"2. Skjoldungen Halvdan kæmper med sin broder Frode om riget og fælder ham (danske sagn).

"3. Skjoldungen Frode dræber (sin broder) Halvdan, sønnesønnen Rolf hævner det (*Grottesangen*, 10de årh., norsk).

"4. Skjoldungen Frode overfalder sin broder Halvdan og dræber ham; sønnerne Hroar og Helge redder livet og hævner siden deres faders død (norsk og islandsk saga, 12te, 13de, 14de årh.).

"Ifølge dette må sagaen om Helges og Hroars barndom være opstået mellem år 1000 (950) og år 1100, snarest nær ved den første tid.¹²⁸

"Langt vigtigere end tidspunktet er dog *arten af denne omdannelse*. Vi står her foran det største skel, der forekommer i heltedigtningens levnedsløb: overgangen fra den løse skare af småsagn, der slutter sig forklarende og udfyldende omkring kvadene, til *sagaen*, der selvstændig og i løbende sammenhæng gør rede for heltenes liv. Netop ved Skjoldungsagnene måtte denne overgang blive afgørende. Når Halvdans mord var det første punkt i slægtens historie, kunde man umulig unddrage sig fra klart og alsidig at belyse dets følger. Det var selvfølgeligt, at Frode også stræbte at rydde Halvdans to sønner af vejen; således fremkom sagnene om fosterfædre og venner, der søgte at skjule dem. For Helge og Hroar måtte den eneste vej til deres fædrene trone gå gennem kamp; deraf opstod da sagnet om hævn over Frode.

¹²⁸ "Det ældste vidnesbyrd om sagnet har vi i den såkaldte *Voluspá in skamma*; det hedder her: 'eru völr allar frá Viðolfi.' Denne troldkvindernes stamfader er identisk med troldmanden Vit[h]olp[us] i Saksen norske saga; og når vi ser, hvorledes digtets troldmandsremser nævner kendte sagnfigurer—Heiðr i *Voluspá*; Hrossbjófr i Saksen norske Baldersagn—, tør vi også i Viðolfr se hentydning til en bestemt digtning, i.e., til dette norske Skjoldungsagn. Desværre kendes digtets alder ikke videre nøje; det er efterhedensk og er digtet som et tillæg til *Voluspá*, sikkert efter at dette digt var blevet udvidet med dværgremserne. (F. Jónsson, *Oldn. lit. hist.*, I, 204, gör det til islandsk og sætter det til 2. halvdel af 12te årh.)."—Ollrik's note.

"Enkelte træk i denne digtning har sagamanden naturligvis hentet fra den overleverede rigdom af sagn. Det er allerede forlængst indset, at væsentlige træk skyldes lån fra sagnet om *Amler*, den unge kongesøn, der redder sit liv ved foregivet vanvid, da hans farbroder har hævet sig på tronen ved mord på hans fader."

The chapter from which the above is taken contains about a page more. Olrik says, "Sagnet om Helge og Hroar er dog som helhed noget ganske andet end den specielle *Amler*type." He refers by way of comparison to the life of Sigurd the Volsung, to the myth of Romulus and Remus, and the corresponding myth of the Greek twins of Thebes, Thessaly, and Arcadia; and concludes thus: "Er der fremmed indflydelse ved dens fødsel [i. e., the story of Hroar's and Helgi's childhood], må den være svag og let strejfende. Snarere må man opfatte sagnet således, at dette æmne har en livskraft til stadig at fødes på ny, hver gang den unge helt vokser op efter faderens drab. Motivet er så nærliggende, så ubetinget heltegyldigt, at da Skjoldungsaerne voksede frem på folkemunde, måtte de åbnes med denne digtning; den var stadig—så at sige—lige nødvendig for at stemple den store helteskikkelse."

The story about the Scylding kings in its various phases (except the first, in *Beowulf*) is found in Denmark and in the Old Norse. Among the Danes and Norwegians (including Icelanders), therefore, we must look for an explanation of this last stage of development. But in the north of England were many Danes and Norwegians, and, as has already been pointed out, the story about Bothvar Bjarki was known in England and acquired distinct features there.¹²⁹ To England, then, we turn for an explanation of the main features of the Hroar-Helgi story.

Furthermore, the story is due to a combination of influences. Evidence of this is the fact that it shows unmistakable influence of the Hamlet story, which, however, does not furnish an explanation of the story as a whole. And the fact that the story about Hroar and Helgi was not a native product of England and had no roots in the soil of the country, so to speak, which tended to hold it within bounds, but was an imported story circulating rather loosely, far from the scene of the supposed events related, would make it peculiarly susceptible to extraneous influences adapted to aid in its development.

¹²⁹ See pp. 9, 15, 24.

The first influence to which the Hroar-Helgi story was subjected was plainly the "exile-return" type of story, whose general characteristics are stated by Deutschbein as follows:—

"Das Reich eines Königs, der nur einen jungen unerwachsenen Sohn hat, wird eines Tages vom Feinde überfallen. Der Vater fällt im blutigen Kampfe. Die Rettung des jungen Thronerben ist mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden—häufig steht dem jungen Fürstenson in der äussersten Not ein getreuer Eckhart zur Seite, eine feststehende Figur in unserm Typus. Der Königssohn wird in Sicherheit gebracht, in der Fremde zunächst in niedriger Stellung, meist unter angenommenem Namen, wächst er zu einem tüchtigen Recken heran, bis zuletzt die Zeit der Heimkehr gekommen ist. Er nimmt furchtbare Rache an den Mördern seines Vaters und gewinnt sein Erbe zurück; wesentliche Dienste leistet ihm dabei ein oder mehrere treue Anhänger seines Vaters, die in der Heimat zurückgeblieben sind.

"Eine Abart dieses Typus weist einen anderen Eingang auf: statt äusserer Feinde sind es nahe Verwandte (Oheim, Stiefvater, Stiefbrüder), die den jungen Prinzen seines Vaters berauben und ihm selbst nachstellen. Diese Form bezeichnen wir mit B, die Hauptform mit A."¹³⁶

The Hroar-Helgi story has two young princes; otherwise, it conforms exactly to type B.

Frothi, Halfdan's brother (*Hrólfs saga* version), attacks him with an army and defeats and slays him. The boys are taken by Regin, their foster-father, to a neighboring island for safety (this, however, is being sent abroad with a limited application of the term), where they live with a shepherd in a cave, responding, when necessary, to the names of dogs. There they remain until they are twelve and ten years old respectively, when they return to their sister and brother-in-law, who, together with Regin, render the boys valuable assistance. They take frightful vengeance on their father's slayer by setting fire to his hall and forcing him to perish in the flames.

The third stage having been reached in the development of the Hroar-Helgi story, in which the brother who is slain is avenged by one of his descendants, it was easy and natural for it to fall in with the "exile-return" type. The type is not an artificial type, it is founded on human nature. The guileless and weak must yield to the designing and strong. History teems with illustrations of

¹³⁶ *St. Sag. Eng.*, pp. 120-21.

the fact that he wears the crown who can win it and hold it. Where a kingdom is the prize, a man is under a mighty temptation when he sees that he can seize it by brushing aside a weak ruler and a still weaker heir, or, the ruler being out of the way, the young heir only. And it is natural that, the young heir surviving, he should avenge a murdered parent, regain the crown, and not permit the usurper to enjoy the fruits of his crime unmolested. Friends each party would also have, actuated, if by nothing else, by self-interest, which is bound up in the success of their chief. What the Hroar-Helgi story in its third stage of development may have been we do not know. We are only told that "Yrsa's son will avenge Frothi's murder of Halfdan." But the story was well prepared for the type it was to assume.

That the story was clearly regarded as one of this type is evident from the fact that in Johannes Bramis' *Historia Regis Waldei* Frodas is the usurper of the throne which by right belongs to Waldef.¹³¹ It is not necessary to repeat the story; it has all the characteristics of the "exile-return" type. As a whole, it has no connection with the Hroar-Helgi story; and it contains the only instance known of the use of Frothi outside the story where he originally belongs. But he is so typically the same person, with the same unlovable characteristics, that he can be none other than the Frothi who plays such a conspicuous part in the history of the Scylding kings.

The use of Frothi as a typical usurper in the English Waldef story is also a very strong indication that the story in which he has his proper setting was current in England; otherwise, by what channel did he get into the Waldef story?¹³²

Our next question is, What stories of the "exile-return" type were current in the portions of England in which the Hroar-Helgi

¹³¹ See R. Imelmann's edition, pp. 45 ff.

¹³² "*Hroar-Helgi*. Frodas, der Florencius gegenübersteht und Waldeus zu beseitigen sucht, hat zwar als Usurpator in einem ganzen Typus seine Verwandten, aber eine in formeller Hinsicht auffallende in der nordischen Sage von Hroar und Helgi. Hier stellt Froði zwei Neffen nach, die aber durch ihren Erzieher in Sicherheit gebracht werden. Sie rächen sich später an dem Usurpator in seiner Halle. Bei seinen Nachstellungen lässt Froði sich täuschen. Für diese Züge bietet der Waldeus eine genaue Parallele (S. 45-60). Seine Vorlage konnte die Sage kennen, da sie in England entstanden und beliebt war; und ihre Benutzung müsste angenommen werden, sobald man die Namensgleichheit Froði—Froda (Frode) für nicht zufällig hält. Der Name Froði scheint in England sonst zu fehlen; er steht nicht bei Björkman."—*Hist. Reg. Wald.*, Intro., p. 52.

story would naturally circulate? We think, of course, immediately of *Havelok the Dane*. Deutschbein has shown that *Havelok* is founded on historical events that occurred in the first half of the tenth century.¹³³ The gist of the story is that an heir to the Danish throne is deprived of his heritage, suffers deep humiliation, but finally regains his heritage and, through marriage, the crown of Norfolk in England in addition. The story was of a nature to make a strong appeal to the Scandinavians, especially the Danes, in England. It achieved, in fiction, the ambition which the Danes realized under Swen and Canute, when these sovereigns governed both Denmark and England. It was a Danish story; it was developed after 950, which was about the time the third stage in the development of the Hroar-Helgi story had been reached; and it was a creation of the Scandinavians in England, among whom the story circulated.

Closely connected to the *Havelok* story is the *Meriadoc* story, the first part of which, as Deutschbein has shown,¹³⁴ and in regard to which J. D. Bruce agrees with him,¹³⁵ is based on the *Havelok* story. These stories Deutschbein calls "cymrisch-skandinavische Sage" and says, "Wir sehen, dass den Cymren und den Skandinaviern in England der wesentliche Anteil an der Entwicklung unserer Sage zukommt."¹³⁶

It is evident that in the *Havelok* and *Meriadoc* stories we have every condition present for contact between them and the *Hroar-Helgi* story, namely: time (after 950); place (England); people among whom all the stories would circulate (Scandinavians, coming in contact with the Welsh); and, in the case of the *Havelok* and *Hroar-Helgi* stories, a popular theme dealing with Danish princes who regain a lost kingdom. The theme would be all the more popular as the time when the *Havelok* story was developed was a period of struggle on the part of the Scandinavians in the British Isles to gain and maintain supremacy.¹³⁷ Again, the nature of the *Hroar-Helgi* story was such that its development depended wholly on invention or on contact with other stories.

¹³³ *St. Sag. Eng.*, pp. 103 ff.

¹³⁴ *St. Sag. Eng.*, p. 134.

¹³⁵ *Hist. Mer.*, Introd., p. 30.

¹³⁶ *St. Sag. Eng.*, p. 139.

¹³⁷ See, for instance, *Dan. Nor. Rig.*

The first part of the Meriadoc story, with which a comparison will be made, is summarized by J. D. Bruce as follows:—

"In the time of Uther Pendragon, Caradoc ruled over Wales. He had a son and a daughter by his wife, a princess of Ireland, which country he had conquered. As old age approaches, he turns over the government of his kingdom to his brother Griffith and devotes himself to hunting and amusement. Wicked men persuade Griffith to slay his brother and seize the throne. Despite the warning of a dream, Caradoc goes hunting and is slain by hired assassins in the forest.

"The queen dies of grief, and, to turn suspicion from himself, Griffith has the assassins put to death. Before their execution, however, they revealed Griffith's guilt. Caradoc's friends among the nobles wish to get out of Griffith's power their late master's children, who had been committed to the charge of Ivor and Morwen, the royal huntsman and his wife. Griffith determines to kill the children, but, touched in a measure by their appeal, does not have them executed on the spot. He has them taken to the forest of Arglud, where they are to be hanged. The executioners, however, feel compassion and tie them by a slender rope, easily broken, so that they may fall to the ground unharmed. Hearing of the children's disappearance, Ivor sets out for the forest, accompanied by his wife and his dog, Dolfin. To frighten the executioners away, he kindles fires in the four quarters of the forest and throws flesh into these fires to attract the wolves. He then hides himself in a tree. The wolves gather and the men, afraid, conceal themselves in the hollow of the tree to which the children had been hanged. Ivor drives away the wolves and then begins to smoke out the men. They promise to give up the children, if he will let them come forth. He consents, but kills them one by one, as they are crawling out.

"He delivers the children, who have been suspended for half a day, and flies with them and his wife and dog to the Flevantanean forest. Here he takes refuge in a caverned rock, called Eagle Rock, because there were built on it the nests of four eagles who constantly faced the four points of the compass. How Ivor and his wife struck fire from flint, and the peculiar way in which they cooked their food is described. One day Urien, King of Scotland, passing through the forest, carries off the girl from her companion, Morwen. Similarly Kay, Arthur's seneschal, carries off the boy from Ivor.

Morwen goes to Scotland to seek Orwen, the girl; Ivor to Arthur's court to seek Meriadoc, the boy.

"The day Morwen reached Scotland, Urien and Orwen are to be married. The latter recognizes Morwen in the throng by the way-side and has her brought to the palace. Ivor comes with a dead stag to Arthur's court and offers it to Kay. Meriadoc recognizes his foster-father and springs clear over the table to greet him. Kay receives Ivor among his attendants. Kay visits Urien and takes Ivor and Meriadoc with him. Mutual recognitions and rejoicings.

"Arthur and Urien determine to take vengeance on Griffith, who fortifies himself at Mount Snowdon. After a long siege he succumbs to famine, surrenders and is executed. Meriadoc succeeds him, but resolves to leave Urien in charge of the kingdom and go forth in search of adventure."¹³⁸

According to Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story, the usurper procures the assassination of his brother and, to avoid suspicion, has the assassins put out of the way. In this the Meriadoc story agrees. In *Meriadoc*, the queen dies of sorrow. No mention is made of the queen in Saxo's version. In the Hamlet story, the brother slays the king with his own hand, but secretly, to avoid suspicion. He marries the king's widow. In the *Hrólfs saga*, the brother attacks the king with an army and slays him. In *Havelok*, Arthur, likewise, attacks the king with an army and slays him.¹³⁹ The widow is rescued. In the *Hrólfs saga*, as appears at the end of the story, the widow is not only rescued, but, as in the Hamlet story, marries the usurper.

In *Meriadoc*, the murdered king's adherents try to rescue the young prince and princess. This feature is common to both the *Hrólfs saga* and Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story. In *Meriadoc*, the usurper gets the children into his power, but, being appealed to, saves them for the time being. This feature is found in Saxo's version, where the usurper agrees to spare the children during good behavior. It is lacking in the *Hrólfs saga*. In *Meriadoc*, the usurper plans to have the children hanged in a forest. In Saxo's version, the children having violated the condition on which they are to be spared, the usurper gathers an army to attack them.

¹³⁸ *Hist. Mer.*, Intro., pp. 65-67.

¹³⁹ The version of the Havelok story here referred to is that contained in Geffrei Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles* and summarized in *St. Sag. Eng.*, pp. 98-100.

In the *Hrólfs saga*, there is a continuous effort on the part of the usurper to make away with the children.

In *Havelok*, Grim, a fisherman, rescues the prince, who lives as a fisherman's son, under the name of Cuaran. In *Meriadoc*, the royal huntsman, Ivor, rescues the children and they live in a cave in the woods as a huntsman's children; Ivor is accompanied by his wife and his dog, Dolfin. In the *Hrólfs saga*, the children live in a cave in the woods as a shepherd's (Vifil's) children, responding, when necessary, to the names of dogs. In Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story, the children are concealed in a hollow tree, food being brought to them under the pretence that they are dogs, and dogs' names are applied to them. In the Hamlet story, the rescue is supplied by the insanity motive, but friends at court are not wanting.

There is no insanity in *Meriadoc* or *Havelok*; but it is present in the *Hrólfs saga* and Saxo's version of the story about the two boys. In the *Hrólfs saga*, the boys, especially Helgi, cut crazy capers while on the way with Sævil when he goes to Frothi's hall in response to an invitation. Helgi rides horseback with his face to the horse's tail, just as Hamlet does; and the horse is an untamed colt, the idea coming from the fact that, when Hamlet is thus riding, a wolf appears and one of the men, to test his sanity, calls the wolf a colt. It would, indeed, be an untamed colt. In Saxo's version, better use is made of the insanity motive. Pretended insanity is the only resort left the boys to save themselves. In the *Hrólfs saga*, it serves no other purpose than to attract attention to the boys and reveal their identity to Signy and Sævil.

In *Havelok*, the prince returns home, and, with the aid of a faithful friend, Sigar, who has remained at court, the usurper is overthrown and the crown regained. In *Meriadoc*, Arthur and Urien besiege the usurper, starve him out, and execute him. Meriadoc becomes king. In the Hamlet story, the prince returns from England, whither the usurper has sent him in order to get rid of him, sets fire to the hall in which the usurper's men lie drunk after a feast, and goes to the usurper's chamber and slays him. Nothing is said about the queen, though the presumption is that she perishes also. In the *Hrólfs saga*, the boys, aided by their foster-father and brother-in-law, trusty friends, set fire to the hall in which the usurper's men lie drunk after a feast; and the usurper's egress through an underground passage having been blocked, he

perishes in the flames. The queen, the boys' mother, refusing to leave the hall, perishes also. In Saxo's version, the boys attack the usurper in his hall and set fire to the building; he hides himself in a secret underground passage and perishes of smoke and gas.

It is told of Ivor that when he rescues the children he is accompanied by his dog. Not only that, but the dog's name is given. This looks as if some use is to be made of the dog; otherwise there is no point in the statement that a dog is present, whose name is Dolfin. Bruce says, "It is to be remembered that even this Welsh version, no doubt, passed through the hands of a French romancer before reaching the author of our Latin text",¹⁴⁰ and there is reason to suspect that this is one of the places where the story has suffered. Both Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story, and the *Hrólfs saga*, show to what use a dog's name could be put; and this specific reference to the dog in *Meriadoc*, and the use that might have been made of him in an earlier version of the story, arouse a strong suspicion that here is the source of the suggestion of using dogs' names in the Hroar-Helgi story to aid in saving the boys. Even if no such use was ever made of the dog in the *Meriadoc* story, such specific reference to him is in itself very suggestive. That the Hroar-Helgi story employs two dogs' names is, of course, due to the fact that there are two boys to which they are to be applied, although, so far as the plot is concerned, the matter could have been managed with the use of one dog's name; and the fact that the dogs' names, in the *Hrólfs saga*, are Hopp and Ho, and that the boys' later assumed names are Hrani and Hamur, is due to a desire to preserve the initial letter, "H," of their names, which is in accordance with Scylding nomenclature.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, in the *Hrólfs saga* it is said that Vifil concealed the boys in a cave in the woods. Likewise, in *Meriadoc*, Ivor concealed the boy and the girl in a cave in the forest. But in Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story, the boys are concealed in a hollow tree. This also must be an adaptation from *Meriadoc*. The men who were to execute the prince and princess hanged them on the branch of a large oak-tree (*quercus*) and concealed themselves inside the tree, which was hollow. Ivor, in an attempt to rescue the children, "Quatuor igitur ingentes focos e quatuor partibus ipsius saltus

¹⁴⁰ *Hist. Mer.*, Introd., p. 30, n.

¹⁴¹ See *Helt.*, I, pp. 22-23.

accendit, accensisque plurimas quas secum attulerat carnes passim iniecit illicemque uicinam cum coniuge et cane ascendens delituit. Fumo autem ignium per nemoris latitudinem diffuso, ubi lupi in confinio degentes—quorum inibi ingens habebatur copia—odorem perceperunt carniū, illo contendere et confluere ilico coeperunt."¹⁴²

Here we have the idea of a hollow oak with people in it, wolves in the vicinity, and children at hand who have been hanged, and therefore presumably dead. Had the cord broken by which they were hanged, they would certainly have been torn to pieces by the wolves. But especially striking is the statement that Ivor's dog is concealed in a tree; and this tree is called "ilex" (holly-oak), the very word used by Saxo to designate the kind of hollow tree that Hroar and Helgi (he calls them Harald and Halfdan, as has been stated) are concealed in, under the pretence that they are dogs. Also, pieces of meat are thrown into the fires; and Ivor, as soon as the men in the hollow tree beg for mercy, shoots four wolves and "ceteri omnes lupi in eos qui uulnera pertulerant irruerunt eosque membratim dilacerantes discerpserunt."¹⁴³ Here is again the idea of meat for wolves and the bodies of animals torn asunder. The idea of dismembered bodies of children is indeed absent; but the whole passage in *Meriadoc* is so suggestive of what we find in Saxo, even to the hiding of a dog, whose name is given, in an "ilex," that it would be remarkable if there was no connection between Saxo's story and *Meriadoc*.

Again, as has already been stated, Saxo says that Frothi perished in an underground passage, of smoke and gas. The men who, in *Meriadoc*, were to execute the prince and princess concealed themselves in a hollow tree, which had an entrance that was so formed that "depressis humeris, illam necesse erat subire,"¹⁴⁴ which is suggestive of the stooping that would probably be necessary in entering an underground passage. But what is noteworthy in this connection is that, at the entrance to the tree, Ivor starts a fire "cuius calore fumique uapore inclusos pene extinxit."¹⁴⁵ Saxo says that Frothi "Vbi dum clausus delitescit, uapore et fumo strangulatus interiiit."¹⁴⁶ Here is the idea of concealment again, but particularly

¹⁴² *Hist. Mer.*, p. 8.

¹⁴³ *Hist. Mer.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴ *Hist. Mer.*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Hist. Mer.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ *Gest. Dan.*, p. 218.

noteworthy is the suffocation by "uapore et fumo," the same words that are used in *Meriadoc*. In the *Hrólfs saga*, the account of the events immediately preceding Frothi's death resembles more the account of the corresponding events in the Hamlet story than does Saxo's account; but in the *Hrólfs saga* also, Frothi attempts to escape by an underground passage.

The use of wolves' claws and the dismembered bodies of children to mislead those who might seek to get possession of the boys is the employment, as Deutschbein has observed, of a form of deceit similar to that practiced by Joseph's brethren.¹⁴⁷

In regard to the manner in which the children are saved, it is difficult to correlate the Hroar-Helgi story with the Meriadoc story as definitely and simply as one would wish, but the explanation probably lies in the following idea expressed by Bruce, "In conclusion, as to this division there seems to be a certain confusion of *motifs* in the first part of the *Historia Meriadoci* with regard to the manner in which the children are saved from execution."¹⁴⁸ The statement, for instance, that the children were suspended for half a day is out of all harmony with the statement that they were to be suspended by slender ropes, easily broken, that would permit them to fall to the ground unharmed. But Bruce's statement quoted above, "This Welsh version, no doubt, passed through the hands of a French romancer before reaching the author of our Latin text," would account for the "confusion of *motifs*"; and the fact that we have not now that form of the story with which the Hroar-Helgi story came in contact would obscure some of the points of relationship between the two. But the hiding of a dog, whose name is given, in an oak tree of a particular species (*ilex*) is so definite and unique a point of identification that there is no mistaking it.

But even if we had the Meriadoc story in its original form, we should not expect to find it exactly reproduced in the Hroar-Helgi story. Various causes would operate to introduce changes. Such features as mountain-rocks with their eagle-nests would be modified to bring the topography more into harmony with that of Denmark, so that the caverned rock would naturally become an earth-cave. Characteristics of Scandinavian life and history would supplant what was peculiarly Welsh. Thus the shrewd old shep-

¹⁴⁷ *St. Sag. Eng.*, p. 129.

¹⁴⁸ *Hist. Mer.*, Introd., p. 31.

herd, Vifil, naturally takes the place of the royal huntsman, Ivor; and Saxo, quite naturally, gives the story a marked Danish geographical and historical setting, which he does by introducing such names as Fyen and Seeland, and by connecting the Danish royal family in the beginning of the story with those of Sweden and Gautland.

Allowance must also be made for two lines of oral transmission, one going to Iceland, and the other to Norway and thence to Denmark. This would result in the modification of details in the two versions, such as details connected with the insanity motive and the concealment of the boys, and the omission, in one version, of the dogs' names supposed to be applied to the boys and the insertion of the names in the other.

But this would not explain why Hroar, Helgi, and their father are given other names in Saxo's version, and why such a radical change has been made in the family relationship of Siward and Signy. This, however, as will be explained later,¹⁴⁹ is due to arbitrary action on the part of Saxo, in order to conceal the fact that he twice includes the same group of men in his line of Danish kings.

If the foregoing is substantially correct, much in the Hroar-Helgi story is accounted for, besides some striking differences between the two versions. But it is possible to account for more. We have seen how the Siward story exerted marked influence on the story about Bothvar Bjarki; hence, we might expect it to have exerted some influence on the Hroar-Helgi story, which is also a part of the *Hrólfs saga*. And this it has done. Siward was historically closely associated with the events of the Macbeth story; but the Macbeth story is of a type that, in one noteworthy particular at least, resembles the Hroar-Helgi story more than do any of the stories thus far considered, and that is in the fact that Duncan has two sons, who flee when their father is murdered. In the Macbeth story, as in the Hamlet story, it may be said that we have not, under a strict interpretation of the term, an instance of the "exile-return" type of story; but Hamlet goes to England and immediately upon his return avenges his father's murder, and, still nearer the type, Malcolm and Donaldbane flee and Malcolm returns and avenges his father's murder. But the matter of type is, in this connection, unessential. There is no doubt that the Hamlet story

¹⁴⁹ See pp. 86 ff.

exerted an influence on the Hroar-Helgi story, nor can there be any doubt that the Macbeth story did the same.

First, attention is called to the fact that in the *Hrólfs saga* Siward himself is retained in the story under the name of Sævil.¹⁵⁰ In Saxo's version of the story about Hroar and Helgi, he is called Siward, but there his proper relationship to the other characters is obscured. Siward was related to Duncan by marriage, some versions, Holinshed's for instance, having it that Duncan was married to Siward's daughter;¹⁵¹ similarly, Sævil was married to Halfdan's daughter. Siward aided Duncan's sons (Donaldbane, however, not being present to take part in the expedition against Macbeth); similarly, Sævil aided Halfdan's sons, not by an armed expedition against Frothi, the usurper, but proceeding against him in such manner as the plot of the story permits. It is said of Donaldbane, that he fled to Ireland "where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land";¹⁵² similarly, Hroar went to Northumberland, where he received a hearty welcome and later married King Northri's daughter, Ögn.¹⁵³ Siward was first an earl in Denmark; similarly, Sævil was an earl in Denmark. Sævil did not, however, become Earl of Northumberland, as Siward did; but Hroar took his place, so to speak, in this respect, and, as Siward had done, married the earl's (king's) daughter¹⁵⁴ and became King of Northumberland.

In the Hroar-Helgi story, the usurper is represented as consulting a witch in regard to the whereabouts of the young princes. This feature must also be due to the influence of the Macbeth story; for, though the purpose for which Frothi and Macbeth consult the witch, or witches, is not exactly the same, it is the possible future disposition of the throne that in both instances causes anxiety; and while at first, in both instances, a prediction, or information, is given that is favorable, a prediction in both instances

¹⁵⁰ A variant of "Sævil" in the manuscripts is "Sævar." See *Hrs. Bjark.*, pp. 3, n. and 5, n.

¹⁵¹ *Chron.*, V, p. 269.

¹⁵² *Chron.*, V, p. 269.

¹⁵³ There is something similar to this in *Meriadoc*. Orwen, the princess, marries the King of Scotland. This feature of *Meriadoc*, besides being in line with Hroar's marrying Northri's daughter, points toward Scotland also.

¹⁵⁴ Siward married Ælflæd, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Bernicia in Northumbria (see p. 13).

is given in conclusion that is unfavorable. The witches are so conspicuous a feature of the Macbeth story that they would, of course, attract the attention of the saga-man; and we naturally expect this feature of the story to leave its impress on the Hroar-Helgi story. It is a special feature, not found in any of the other stories considered in this connection, and there can be no doubt as to whence the Hroar-Helgi story acquired it. The witch in the saga is called a "seiðkona." Concerning the kind of witchcraft practised by a "seiðkona," P. A. Munch has the following: "Som den virksomste, men og som den skjendigste, af al Troldom ansaa vore Forfædre den saakaldte *Seid*. Hvorledes den udövedes, er ikke ret klart fremstillet . . . ; den var forbunden med sang. . . . Men dette slags Troldom ansaaes ogsaa en Mand uværdigt, og udövedes derfor sædvanligviis af Kvinder, ligesom dette ogsaa stedse synes at have gaaet ud paa noget ondt."¹⁵⁵ Thus the "seiðkona" is exactly the same kind of creature as the witches in the Macbeth story. Consider, for instance, the disgusting practice in which Shakespeare represents them as engaging, as they go round the cauldron, chanting the refrain, "Double, double toil and trouble," etc. W. J. Rolfe refers to the witches in *Macbeth* as follows: "Macbeth and his fellow captain Banquo have performed prodigies of valour in the battle, and are on their way home from the field when they are met by the three witches, as Shakespeare calls them, and as they are called in the old chronicle from which he took the main incidents of his plot. They appear simply to be the witches of superstition—hags who have gained a measure of superhuman knowledge and power by a league with Satan, to whom they have sold their souls and pledged their service."¹⁵⁶ The statements at an earlier stage of the story in the *Hrólfs saga*, while the boys are still on the island, that soothsayers and wise men are called in from all over the land to tell where the boys are, and that wizards, who are also summoned, warn Frothi to beware of the old man Vifil on the island, remind us of the statement by Holinshed that Macbeth "had learned of certein wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence how that he ought to take heed of Macduffe."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ *Nor. Hist.*, I, pp. 180-81.

¹⁵⁶ *Macb.*, *Intro.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁷ *Chron.*, V, p. 274.

Still another feature may have been acquired from the Macbeth story. It is said that Hroar and Helgi were transferred to a neighboring island. Holinshed says that Donaldbane fled to Ireland. The Macbeth story has been treated by a number of chroniclers, who, though they agree in the main, occasionally disagree in regard to details. Thus Johannes Fordun says, "Hi a Machabeo rege expulsi, Donaldus insulas, Malcolmus Cumbriam adibant."¹⁶⁸ This is evidently one version and would supply the hint for transferring the young princes to a neighboring island, which would be a convenient disposition to make of them till the time of their return to regain their heritage. It would also harmonize topographically with the coast of Denmark, where there were many islands covered with trees, the idea of woods as a hiding-place for the boys having been abundantly supplied by the Meriadoc story.

It may be said that this introduces a conflict with the statement that Donaldbane fled to Ireland. It is not possible to know, in a case like this, which variant has influenced the saga, or whether, indeed, both have not been utilized. But there was ample warrant for transferring Hroar to Northumberland without such a suggestion as lay in Donaldbane's flight to Ireland. In any event, imitation of Donaldbane's flight has not been a necessary consideration in making Hroar King of Northumberland. A suggestion of the same nature lay in Hamlet's going to England, where he married the king's daughter; but chiefly, the Scandinavians were numerous in the north of England and regarded themselves as the rightful possessors of that part of the country. The mastery of Northumberland was long an object of contest between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, and this was the chief point at issue in the famous battle at Brunanburh, 937. Since Helgi, whom the *Hrólfs saga* represents as the more forward of the two boys, was made King of Denmark, no more honorable disposition could be made of Hroar than to place him on the throne of Northumberland, and events show that he himself was perfectly satisfied. He thus also became ruler of the land once governed by Siward, who must have made a powerful impression on his countrymen in England; and with one of the two princes reigning in Denmark and the other in England, the glory of the Danes when Canute was king of both countries would be revived in story, as it was in *Havelok the Dane*, where Havelok, likewise, reigned both in England and Denmark.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted by Langebek in *Sc. Rer. Dan.*, III, p. 291, n.

No attempt has been made to point out all the respects in which the Hroar-Helgi story resembles the Macbeth story. The Macbeth story has most of the characteristics of the "exile-return" type, and striking resemblances that fall in with features of the stories already mentioned might have been added, but will suggest themselves to the reader. Only such things as point to special influence exerted by the Macbeth story on the Hroar-Helgi story have been mentioned.

It may be urged that some of the material, such as the "seið-kona," said in the foregoing to be derived from foreign sources, is recognized saga-material. The point, however, is that it is not the material itself, but the suggestion for the use of it, that in such an instance is said to be derived from a foreign source.

The Hroar-Helgi Story in the SKJOLDUNGASAGA and the BJARKARÍMUR.

Thus far nothing has been said about the "short and chronicle-like form in the Icelandic *Skjoldungasaga*, where the fratricide is called Ingjald, not Frothi."¹⁵⁹ The story is, in substance, as follows.

Fridleif, King of Denmark, abducted Hilda, daughter of Ali, King of the Uplands in Norway, and by her had a son who was named Ali; by another woman he had a son who was named Frothi.

Frothi inherited his father's kingdom; but Ali, his half-brother, who was a great warrior, conquered Sweden. Frothi's men feared Ali and persuaded Frothi to try to have him put to death. Frothi yielded to their entreaties, and Starkad, the famous warrior, was dispatched to perform the deed. When an opportunity presented itself, he stabbed Ali to death. "My brother has caused this," said Ali, and died laughing.

Later, Frothi defeated Jorund, King of Sweden, and made him a tributary prince. He also defeated Swerting, a Swedish duke, and treated him in the same manner. Frothi abducted Jorund's daughter, by whom he had a son who was called Halfdan. But taking another woman to wife, a legitimate heir was born to him, and this son was called Ingjald.

Starkad, however, was so filled with remorse for having killed Ali that he did not wish to remain with Frothi. He went, therefore, soon after to Russia and later to Sweden, but, disgusted with the idolatry of the Swedes, returned to Frothi. Ingjald, son of

¹⁵⁹ Olrik; see p. 65.

Frothi, had in the meantime married the daughter of Swerting, thus, as it seemed to all, effecting a reconciliation with him.

Jorund and Swerting, however, formed a conspiracy against Frothi, and he was slain one night while sacrificing to the gods. In the meantime, Starkad was absent in Sweden, where, under the guise of friendship, he was detained by gifts, in order that the plot against Frothi might be the more easily executed.

Swerting placated Ingjald, Frothi's son and Swerting's son-in-law; but Halfdan, Ingjald's half-brother, conquered Skåne and avenged his father's murder by putting to death Swerting's twelve sons, who had slain Frothi. At the instigation of Starkad, Ingjald put his wife, Swerting's daughter, aside. He also granted Halfdan a third of the kingdom. Swerting's daughter later bore Ingjald a son (Agnar); and by his wife, Sigrith, Halfdan had a daughter, Signy, and two sons, Hroar and Helgi.

Ingjald, however, desiring to rule over the whole kingdom, fell upon Halfdan unexpectedly with an army and slew him. He married Halfdan's widow, and by her had two sons, Hrörík and Frothi. Signy grew up under her mother's care, and later Ingjald gave her in marriage to Sævil, an earl in Seeland. But Hroar and Helgi hid from the king on an island near Skåne, and when they had arrived at the proper age they slew Ingjald and thus avenged their father's death.

Hroar and Helgi now became Kings of Denmark. Later Hroar married the daughter of the King of England. Hrolf, nicknamed Kraki, who was eight years old when his father, Helgi, died, succeeded him on the throne. Hroar was soon after slain by his half-brothers, Hrörík and Frothi. Hrolf then became sole King of Denmark.¹⁶⁰

The story in the *Bjarkarmur* is substantially the same as the story in the *Skjöldungasaga*. Both are plainly based on the same account, and, within certain limits, are identical with the corresponding story in the *Hrólfs saga*. Skåne, mentioned in the *Skjöldungasaga* in the phrase "in insula quadam Scaniæ," is not mentioned in the *Hrólfs saga*. Its insertion in the *Skjöldungasaga* is due to the fact that Halfdan, the father of Hroar and Helgi, is said to have conquered Skåne, and, as a result, would be regarded as having ruled there. But its presence in one account and omission in the other involve no contradiction. In all that belongs

¹⁶⁰ *Skjs. (Aarb., pp. 110 ff.).*

peculiarly to the story about Hroar and Helgi, the account in the *Skjoldungasaga* is identical with the account in the *Hrólfs saga*. According to both sources, the name of the boys' mother was Sigrið; their father's name was Halfdan; he was slain by his brother, who fell upon him unexpectedly with an army; the fratricide married the murdered man's widow; Signy was the sister of Hroar and Helgi; she married Sævil, an earl in Denmark; Hroar and Helgi had to conceal themselves on an island to save their lives (according to the *Bjarkarmur*, they were brought up by the old man Vifil, a circumstance omitted in the *Skjoldungasaga*, but contained in the *Hrólfs saga*); when they had arrived at the proper age, they slew (according to the *Hrólfs saga* and the *rtmur*, "burnt-in") their father's murderer and thus avenged their father's death; Hroar and Helgi then became Kings of Denmark; Hroar married the daughter of the King of England; Helgi's son was Hrolf, who later became sole King of Denmark.

The essential difference between the story as it is in the *Skjoldungasaga* and as it is in the *Hrólfs saga* is that, in the *Skjoldungasaga*, Ingjald is said to be the brother of Halfdan; while in the *Hrólfs saga*, Frothi is Halfdan's brother. The *Hrólfs saga* has, however, preserved the earlier account. The *Skjoldungasaga* dates from about the year 1200.¹⁶¹ About the year 950, Frothi is said to be the slayer of Halfdan;¹⁶² and in *Historia Regis Waldei*, Frothi is made the typical villain in a Hroar-Helgi type of story¹⁶³ (the "exile-return" type), so that, in the version of the story that was current in England, Frothi must have been the slayer of his brother. The conflicting statement that it was Ingjald who slew Halfdan requires, therefore, an explanation.

In Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, the story about Hroar and Helgi is told twice. It is first told in the second book, where we find the version with which is connected the story about Hrolf Kraki, Yrsa, Athils, and Ingjald and his son Agnar, whom Bjarki slew; it is told a second time in the seventh book, where Hroar and Helgi are called Harald and Halfdan, and where the story about them is another version of the same story that we have in the *Hrólfs saga*.

¹⁶¹ *Oldn. Lit. Hist.*, II, p. 665.

¹⁶² See pp. 64 ff., where Olrik's explanation of the development in the relations between Frothi and Halfdan, from the earliest to the latest account, is given in full.

¹⁶³ See p. 69.

Not only do Hroar and Helgi appear (disguised under different names), but Frothi and Ingjald again appear.

A comparison of the line of Danish kings as Saxo has it, with the line of the same kings in the *Skjoldungasaga*,¹⁶⁴ shows that the *Skjoldungasaga* has the story about Hroar and Helgi just where Saxo's second story about them (i. e., in his seventh book) puts in its appearance. These lines of kings are as follows:—

SAXO: SKJOLDUNGASAGA:

Humblus I	
Dan I	
Humblus II	
Lotherus	
Scioldus	Scioldus
Gram	
Swibdagerus	
Guthormus	
Hadingus	
Frotho I	
Haldanus, Roe, Scatus	
Roe, Helgo	
Roluo Krage	
Hiartwarus	
Hotherus	
Balderus	
Roricus	
Vigletus	
Wermundus	
Uffo	
Dan II	
Hugletus	
Frotho II	
Dan III	

¹⁶⁴ "Vi finder *Skjoldungasagas* kongerække bekræftet i de andre skrifter: *Langfeðgatal* stemmer helt igennem i kongerækken og—på et enkelt punkt nær—også i slægtskabs-forholdene. Rolv krakes saga stemmer ligeledes; kun gör den sin konge Frode til Halvdans broder, ikke til hans brodersön som de to andre kilder. *Hervarsaga* har forvansket nogle af de mindre vigtige konge- og dronningnavne, men har i det hele samme bygning af *Skjoldungslægten*. De på Island bevarede oldkvad (*Grottesangen*, *Bjarkemål*, *Bråvallakvadet* og *Hyndluljóð*) stemmer helt med prosaskrifterne."—Ohrlik, *Aarb.*; p. 157.

Fridleus I	Fridleifus I ¹⁶⁶	
Frotho III ¹⁶⁶	Frotho I ¹⁶⁶	
	Herleifus	
	Havardus	
	Leifus	
	Herleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Hunleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Aleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Oddleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Geirleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Gunnleifus ¹⁶⁷	
	Frotho II	
	Vermundus	
	Dan I	
	Dan II ¹⁶⁸	
Hiarnus ¹⁶⁹	Frotho III	
Fridleus II ¹⁷⁰	Fridleifus II	
Frotho IV	Frotho IV	
Ingellus	Ingjaldus,	Halfdanus
Olauus ¹⁷¹		
Frotho V, Haraldus ¹⁷²	Agnerus, Roericus,	Roas or Roe, Helgo
Haraldus, ¹⁷⁴ Haldanus, ¹⁷⁵	Frotho (V) ¹⁷²	Rolpho Krag

¹⁶⁶ Son and successor of Scioldus.

¹⁶⁶ Said to have been king when Christ was born.

¹⁶⁷ Brothers, sons of Leifus.

¹⁶⁸ Married to Olafa, daughter of Vermundus.

¹⁶⁹ Chosen king upon the death of Frotho III, when Fridleus II was absent from the kingdom.

¹⁷⁰ Son and successor of Frotho III. He defeated Hiarnus and later slew him.

¹⁷¹ Olaf appears here in a disturbing manner; but that Saxo had no clear conception of him is plain from the way he introduces his seventh book. He says: "Ingello quatuor filios fuisse, ex iisdemque, tribus bello consumptis, Olauum solum post patrem regnasse, perita rerum prodit antiquitas: quem quidam Ingelli sorore editum incerto opinionis arbitrio perhibent. Huius actus uetustatis squalore conspersos parum iusta noticia posteritatis apprehendit; extremum duntaxat prudentie eius monitum memoria uendicauit. Quippe cum supremis fati uiribus arctaretur, Frothoni et Haraldo filiis consulturus, alterum terris, alterum aquis regia dicione preesse, eamque potestatis differentiam non diutina usurpacione, sed annua uicissitudine sorti iubet."—*Gest. Dan.*, p. 216.

¹⁷² Son of Ingjald, but not his successor on the throne.

¹⁷³ Halfdan in *Hrs.* and *Skjs.*

¹⁷⁴ Hroar in *Hrs.* and *Skjs.*

¹⁷⁵ Helgi in *Hrs.* and *Skjs.*

A comparison of the two lines of kings shows that, beginning with the first Fridleus in Saxo's account and the first Fridleifus in the *Skjoldungasaga's* account, there are important correspondences. Fridleus I (Saxo)=Fridleifus I (*Skjs.*). Frotho III, son of Fridleus I (Saxo)=Frotho I, son of Fridleifus I (*Skjs.*). Fridleus II, son of Frotho III (Saxo)=Fridleifus II, son of Frotho III (*Skjs.*). Frotho IV (Saxo)=Frotho IV (*Skjs.*); and in both sources Frotho IV is the Danish king in whose career Swerting plays such a prominent part. By omitting all of Saxo's kings between Scioldus and Fridleifus I, among whom are also the Hroar-Helgi group, the *Skjoldungasaga* has avoided the difficulty of having to deal with Hroar, Helgi, and Hrolf Kraki where they first occur in Saxo's history.

The paralleling of the two lines of kings also furnishes the key to the explanation of how the different names and a different setting for the Hroar-Helgi story, from those found in other versions, got into Saxo's version. Since the Hroar-Helgi story appears in the same place in his line of kings as in that of the *Skjoldungasaga*, he must also have known the names that really belonged to the story. But he had told the story about Halfdan, Hroar, Helgi, and Hrolf Kraki (in its second stage of development, see p. 66) once before, and therefore could not consistently tell a different story about the same men. The story was, however, in existence and was too good to be discarded, so he retained it, but disguised it by making arbitrary changes. This explains the loss, which otherwise would be very strange, of such well known names as Hroar, Helgi, and Hrolf Kraki. The only incentive any one could have to change the names would be just that which Saxo had, namely that he had used them before in another connection. He retained the name Frothi, which appears so often in the Danish line of kings that its reappearance would cause no difficulty; and his retention of Frothi as the slayer of his brother is additional evidence that to him, not to Ingjald, was this unenviable rôle first assigned. Ingjald, whom he has in his story about Hrolf Kraki, he also retained, but in a different relationship from that in his second book. It will be observed that Saxo merely shifted the name Halfdan from father to son, and that Harald, almost a conventional name, he employed

twice. Finally, he introduced a strange person, Olaf, about whom, he says, nothing, practically, was known.

But since Saxo, except for the changed names, has the Hroar-Helgi story substantially as it is in the *Hrólfs saga*, the author of the *Skjöldungasaga*, or its source, whose version of the story occurs in the same place in the line of Danish kings as Saxo's, must also have known the story in the same version. This we shall find was actually the case, and that the story as it appears in the *Skjöldungasaga* is an attempt at reconciling conflicting elements in ancient tradition.

As already stated, according to the *Grottasöngur* (from about 950), Frothi is the brother of Halfdan and slays him. But according to an equally old tradition, the story on which the Ingjald lay in Saxo's sixth book is based, Frothi is Ingjald's father and is himself slain. The events that gave rise to this lay are also narrated in Saxo's sixth book and are as follows.

In Saxony were two kings, both of whom paid tribute to Frothi. They planned to throw off the foreign yoke. Hanef made the attempt first, but Frothi defeated and slew him. Swerting made the attempt later and slew Frothi, but met his own death at the same time. Swerting's sons, fearing that Ingjald would avenge his father's death, gave him their sister in marriage. Thus a reconciliation was effected, and Ingjald thenceforth devoted himself to pleasure. Starkad, the famous warrior, who was in Sweden, had been one of Frothi's men and had later been Ingjald's foster-father. When Starkad learned that Ingjald, instead of seeking revenge, had made friends with his enemies and had taken Swerting's daughter to wife and with her was leading a life of luxury, the old warrior hastened back to Denmark. When Starkad returned, Ingjald's wife, not knowing him on account of his shabby appearance, insulted him. Ingjald was away on a hunt at the time; but when he returned, he recognized Starkad and told his wife who the old man was. In the evening Ingjald sat down to a luxurious meal with Swerting's sons; and his wife did all she could to appease Starkad, who was also present. But Starkad could not forget the insult he had suffered, and became more and more angry with the effeminate way of living that Ingjald and his wife had introduced from Germany. In burning words, which are reproduced in the Ingjald lay, he condemned Ingjald's neglect of duty, his luxurious mode of life,

and his living in friendship with those on whom he should have avenged his father's death. Ingjald was finally aroused, and he drew his sword and killed all of Swerting's sons. In regard to his future relation to his wife Saxo says nothing; but as Starkad advised him to drive the impudent woman (as he called her) from the land, the presumption is that Ingjald did so.

The Ingjald lay has its roots in *Beowulf*. Its relationship to the corresponding episode in the Anglo-Saxon poem is explained in the following by Olrik:—

“Kun et eneste af Starkad-digtningens mange optrin kan følges til ældre kilde end de nordiske. Det er den scene, hvor den gamle kriger opægger Ingjald til hævn og dermed afbryder forsoningen imellem de to fjendtlige slægter. I *Beowulf* findes dette optrin for første gang, ganske afvigende i den politiske stilling, men med kendetligt slægtskab i det digterske indhold.

“Digtet fortæller om det forsøg der blev gjort på at stille den lange fejde, der var ført mellem Danernes folk og Hadbardernes, af Halvdan og Hrodgar imod Frode og Ingeld. Forsoningen skulde frembringes ved bryllup mellem Ingeld og Hrodgars datter Freyvar (Fréaware). ‘Hun blev lovet, ung og guldsmykt, til Frodes hulde søn; det har tyktes Skjoldungers ven så, rigets vogter (i. e., Hrodgar) har fundet det rådeligt, at ved den viv skulde tvisten og dødsfejden stilles. Ofte, ej sjældn, hviler dog dødsspyddet kun føje tid efter mandefald, hvor gæv så bruden er. Da må det mistykke Hadbardernes drot og hver thegn af det folk, når han går med jomfruen i hallen, at en hirdsvend af Danerne skænkede for skaren; ti på ham stråler fædrenes eje, hårdt og ringlagt, Hadbardernes klenodier, sålænge de ejede de våben (indtil de mistede i skjoldelegen de kære fæller og deres eget liv). Da mæler ved øllet en gammel spydkæmpe, der ser skatten, og mindes al mændenes undergang; grum er hans hu. Fuld af harm begynder han at friste en ung kæmpes hu med hvad der bor i hans bryst: ‘Kender du, min ven, denne klinge, som din fader bar til sværdstævnet sidste gang—dette kostelige jern—dengang Danerne slog ham; de beholdt valpladsen, de raske Skjoldunger; siden kom der aldrig oprejsning efter kæmpernes fald. Nu går her afkom af de banemænd her i hallen, pralende af skattene, bryster sig af drabet, bærer det klenodie som du med ret skulde eje!’—Således maner og minder han atter og atter med sårende ord, indtil den stund kommer, at jomfruens svend segner blodig ned for klingens bid, skilt ved livet for sin

faders død; men den anden (i. e., drabsmanden) undflyr levende, han kender vel landet. Da brydes fra begge sider ædlingernes edspagt; i Ingeld koger dødshadet, men kærligheden til hans viv kölnes efter den harm. Derfor kalder jeg ikke Hadbardernes trofasthed, deres del i folkefreden, svigelös mod Danerne, deres venskab ikke fast.¹⁷⁶

“Trods den antydende stil i digtets fremstilling, således som den lægges helten Beovulf i munden, er handlingens sammenhæng nogenlunde tydelig. Der har været gammel fejde mellem Daner og Hadbarder; hvis man kan tro betydningen af et ikke helt sikkert ord, er også Hadbardernes konge (Frode) falden i striden. Ingeld, Frodes søn, slutter fred med Danernes konge Hrodgar og holder bryllup med hans datter. Under selve brylluppet blusser kampen op, idet en af brudesvendene bliver dræbt af en af Hadbarderne, som en gammel kæmpe har ægget op til at hævne sin faders død. Brylluppet (og drabet) foregår—efter digtets fremstilling—snarest i Hadbardernes kongehal; ti det hedder, at drabsmanden undslap fordi han kendte landet. Ingelds rolle er indskrænket til at hans kærlighed til kongedatteren ‘kölnes’; at hun er bleven forskudt eller selv er vendt hjem, fremgår deraf, at hun i digtet går i den danske kongehal som ugift og skænker for kæmperne.

“Kampen nævnes en gang til, i *Béowulfs* begyndelse, dær hvor det hedder om den danske kongehal Hjort: ‘den opleved fjendske ildbølger, hærjende lue; det var ikke længe efter at kamphadet vågned efter [gammelt] dødsfjendskab mellem svigersøn og svigerfader.’¹⁷⁷ Disse ord—der næppe stammer fra den egenlige *Béowulf*-digter—indeholder en afvigende fremstilling: bryllupskampen står i den danske kongehal, og synes at være opfattet som større og voldsommere end en enkelt mands mord og hans banemandes undslipning. At sagnet vakler med hensyn til stedet, er ikke så underligt. Historiske forhold viser, at bryllup snart er holdt i svigersønnens, snart i svigerfaderens hjem.

“Også Widstø-kvadet taler om en kamp ‘i Hjort’ (ät Heorote), hvor Ingeld og hans Hadbarder skal have lidt et nederlag mod Hrodgar og hans brodersøn Hrodulf. Det er rimeligst, at også dette er hentydning til det blodige bryllup, opfattet på lignende måde og henlagt til samme skueplads som i den nysnævnte antydning.

“Handlingen foregår i Ingelds kongehal, og indholdet er at en gammel kæmpe bevæger en ung til i selve hallen at dræbe sønnen af

¹⁷⁶ *Beow.*, ll. 2024-69.

¹⁷⁷ *Beow.*, ll. 82-85.

sin faders banemand, herved blusser det gamle fjendskab mellem folkene op, og Ingeld forskyder sin udenlandske hustru.

"Forskellen er den, at i *Béowulf* er faderhævneren en fra Ingeld forskellig person. Dette er sikkert det ældre, og Ingjaldskvadets det yngre. Det gælder som en lov for episk udvikling, at man arbejder sig hen imod det enklere; hvis to personer udfører beslægtede handlinger, vil den ene af dem forsvinde; og i kraft af digtningens midtpunktsøgen, vil bifiguren gå ud af spillet, hans rolle vil enten blive til intet eller overtages af hovedpersonen. Digtningen har gjort et stort skridt frem i episk tætning, da Ingeld blev både faderhævner og den der forskød sin hustru; det hele drama udspilles nu imellem den unge konge og den gamle stridsmand.

.....

"Episk er omdannelsen naturlig nok; nationalt er den meget mærkeligere. Det er ikke så underligt, at den ældre form handler om Daner og Hadbarder, den yngre om Daner og Sakser. Men det overraskende er, at Hadbardernes parti göres til 'Daner' og de tidligere Daner til 'Saksere'; den danske heltetradition er her ganske vildfarende i, hvem der er folkets egne forfædre, og hvem der er dets bitreste fjender. Dog også dette bliver episk forklarligt. Bevidstheden om Hadbarderne, der engang havde fyldt Danerne med rædsel, svandt efterhånden bort, fordi Östersöegnenes hele ætniske stilling forandredes. Ikke en eneste gang er deres navn overleveret i samtlige den nordiske litteratur! Men hvor synskres og navne glemmes, drages personer og optrin nærmere til. Efter Venderne indvandring til Östersökysten bliver alle dens gamle sagnhelte opfattede som Danske: Anglernes Offa, Hadbardernes Ingeld, Holmrygernes Hagen. Senere i tiden flytter også andre af den gotiske verdens store sagnskikkelser nordpå: minder om Hunnerslaget overføres på Danmarks sydgrænse (Dan, Fredfrode); Volsunger, Nibelunger, Didrikskæmper—alle blev til en eller anden tid gjorde til vore landsmænd, efter ganske samme nærhedslov, hvormed Nordmændene gjorde danske kæmper som Starkad og Bjarke til norske helte. I og for sig er der intet mærkeligere i, at Ingeld og den opæggende gamle spydkæmpe göres til 'Daner. Som *Bjarkemål* blev udgangspunkt for ganske uhistoriske forestillinger om Skjoldungætten, sker det også her—i endnu større målestok. Ingjaldskvadet har bortkastet alt det historiske stof, undtagen den gamle kæmpes harmtale, og det skaber en ny episk sammenhæng, som det gennemfører paa glimrende måde.

"Nu forstaar vi Ingelds nationalitetsskifte. Det mærkelige er blot, at de oprindelige Daner blev gjorte til Sakserne. Men ogsaa dette følger af den episke udvikling. Når den gamle kæmpe er det punkt der tiltrækkes (fordi han er det poetiske tyngdepunkt), må hans modparti frastödes og göres til Danefolkets fjender. Nogen selvstændig betydning ejer denne part jo ikke.

"Udtalt i jævne ord vil dette sige, at man i vikingetiden tog et gammelt sagnstof og deri fandt udtryk for sin tids store oplevelse, sammenstødet mellem Danmark og et mægtigt 'saksisk' rige.¹⁷⁸

"Det eneste nye navn, vi möder, er betegnelsen 'Svertings sönnar.' I ældre digtning (*Beowulf*) er 'Svertings ætling' Geaternes konge; men da bevidstheden om 'Geaterne' blegnede, er navnet vel sprunget over og er knyttet til en kendt folkestamme, Sakserne. Grunden dertil er muligvis kun, at det danner bogstavrim med Sakser, og at det sproglig har en biklang af sort, i. e., ond og listig, der gjorde det egnet til at bruges om Danernes fjender."¹⁷⁹

The significance of this is, first, that in the Ingjald lay we are dealing with old material; secondly, that the account of the relationship in the *Skjoldungasaga* between Frothi and Swerting and their families is based on the Ingjald lay; thirdly, that when the nationality of Swerting and those associated with him is changed from Saxon to Swedish, it is merely another stage in the development of the story, quite in line with earlier changes made to keep the story in harmony with changing conditions.

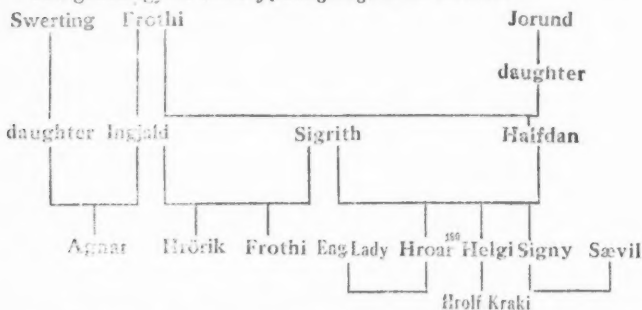
Thus we have two stories, based on the same events (events first related in *Beowulf* and *Widsith*), that come down to posterity by two independent lines of transmission and suffer changes in the course of time that bring them into absolute conflict with each other. According to both stories, Frothi has become a Danish king. But in the story connected with the Ingjald lay, Frothi is slain, and is avenged by his son, Ingjald; while in the *Hrólfs saga*, Frothi is his brother's slayer, on whom vengeance is taken by the sons (Hroar and Helgi) of his victim (Halfdan). In the *Skjoldungasaga*, the conflict is obviated. It is done very deftly and with only such disturbances of the genealogical relations involved as seemed necessary to secure the desired result. As a consequence, the changes that have been made, for which, in most instances, the reasons are quite apparent, can be traced step by step. The story as we

¹⁷⁸ "Dette forhold, at det egenlige vikingeliv ligger forud for digtet, förer os hen til 10de årh. som dets tilblivelsestid."—*Helt.*, II, p. 36.

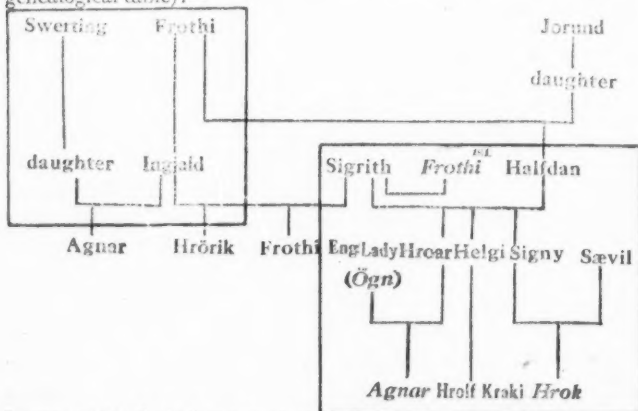
¹⁷⁹ *Helt.*, II, pp. 37-41. Olrik's notes, of which there are a number, have been omitted.

have it in the *Skjöldungasaga* is, therefore, plainly an artificial amalgamation designed principally to harmonize conflicting stories about Frothi.

The genealogy in the *Skjöldungasaga* is as follows:—



Below is the same genealogy with the portions enclosed that, on the one hand, are taken from the Ingjald lay (Frothi, Swerting, etc.) and, on the other, from the *Hrólfs saga* (Halfdan, Sigrith, etc.). The names in *italics* are found in the *Hrólfs saga*, but, with the exception of Ögn, whose name is omitted altogether, are employed in another connection in the *Skjöldungasaga* (see the foregoing genealogical table):—



¹⁸⁰ Later, the statement is made that Hroar had a son called Waldar; but the statement causes no difficulty in this connection. First, we observe that when Hroar, who is older than Helgi, is slain, Helgi's son, Hrolf Kraki, becomes sole King of Denmark with no competitor for the throne. Secondly, Arngrim

It will be observed that the following changes have been made to produce the family relationship as we find it in the *Skjöldunga-saga*. Frothi is removed as Halfdan's brother and becomes his father, a change suggested, probably, by the tradition related in Saxo's second book that Frothi was Halfdan's father, and facilitated by the fact that, in the *Hrólfs saga*, the father of Halfdan and Frothi is not mentioned, and, as a result, presents no impediment to the change. But to explain how Halfdan has become Frothi's son, a new relationship has to be invented, so Frothi is said to have the son Halfdan by the daughter of Jorund. According to the *Hrólfs saga*, Halfdan is slain by his brother. This idea, in the abstract, is retained. But, according to the new arrangement, Ingjald, Frothi's son, has become Halfdan's brother, i. e., half-brother; hence, Ingjald slays Halfdan. According to the *Hrólfs saga*, Halfdan's brother and slayer marries his widow, Sigrith.¹⁸² This idea is also retained. In the *Hrólfs saga*, it is Frothi who slays his brother, Halfdan, and marries his widow, Sigrith. But, according to the new arrangement, Ingjald is Halfdan's brother and slayer; hence, it is now he who marries Sigrith. According to the *Hrólfs saga*, Agnar is Hroar's son; but this, apparently, is not according to current tradition. According to Saxo's second book, he is Ingjald's son and is slain by Bjarki. This conception of him occurs in the *Hrólfs saga* also, but towards the close, where Bjarki, in recounting his own achievements, mentions his having slain Agnar. This Agnar is not Hroar's son, but the Agnar of the *Skjöldungasaga* and of Saxo's second book. The *Skjöldungasaga*, therefore, properly retains him as Ingjald's son and omits him as Hroar's son. Hrok and Hrörik are the same person. According to the *Hrólfs saga*, he is the son of Sævil and Signy. Olrik has about a page of comment on him,¹⁸³ in which he shows that he (Hrethric, Hrothgar's son,

says: "Roas. Hujus posteros etsi non repperi in compendio unde Regum Danie Fragmenta descripsi; tamen genealogiam hanc alibi sic oblatam integre ut sequitur visum est contexere. Valderus cogn. munificus, Roæ prædicti filius."—*Aarb.*, p. 139, n.

¹⁸¹ Halfdan's brother, who, after Halfdan's death, married his widow, Sigrith.

¹⁸² This is not expressly stated; but her appearance and action in the last scene admit of no other conclusion. This is Finnur Jónsson's opinion also; see p. 95, n.

¹⁸³ *Helt.*, I, pp. 173-74.

in *Beowulf*) was originally regarded as Hroar's son, but, for reasons that need not here be rehearsed, became a fluctuating character. The *Skjöldungasaga* has made him the son of Ingjald. In the *Hrólfs saga*, Hroar is said to have married an English lady named Ögn. The *Skjöldungasaga* also says that Hroar married an English lady, but omits her name. Finally, Ingjald is given another son, Frothi. He corresponds to Frothi V in Saxo. In Saxo, however, Frothi is the slayer of his brother and corresponds to the Frothi who appears in the *Hrólfs saga* as the slayer of Halfdan. As the Frothi who appears in the *Hrólfs saga* becomes, in the *Skjöldungasaga*, the father of Halfdan, and Ingjald becomes Halfdan's slayer, Frothi, Ingjald's son, is, as a consequence, assigned the rôle of joining his brother Hrörík in slaying his half-brother Hroar. Thus the idea of Frothi (corresponding to Frothi V in Saxo) as a fratricide is retained. But as Ingjald is succeeded on the throne by Halfdan's sons, Hroar and Helgi, there is no opportunity for Ingjald's son Frothi to become king. It will also be remembered that Frothi IV in the *Skjöldungasaga*, who, like Frothi IV in Saxo, was slain by Swerting (or his sons), was himself a fratricide, having caused the death of his brother Ali. Frothi IV in the *Skjöldungasaga* corresponds to the Frothi mentioned in the *Hrólfs saga*. Thus, as a fratricide, Frothi IV in the *Skjöldungasaga* corresponds to the Frothi in the *Hrólfs saga*, and as the victim of Swerting, he corresponds to Frothi IV in Saxo; while the account of Frothi, Ingjald's son, as the slayer of his half-brother Hroar, preserves the idea that Frothi V (in Saxo) is his brother's slayer. The *Skjöldungasaga* has, therefore, amply retained the idea of Frothi as a fratricide, and contains an account that, in a way, embraces the essential features of the treatment of the same period in the *Hrólfs saga*, on the one hand, and in Saxo, on the other. The relationship in the *Skjöldungasaga* of Frothi (Ingjald's father), Swerting, Ingjald, and Swerting's daughter is identical with that in the Ingjald lay.

Thus we see how, at the most conspicuous and interesting juncture of the Danish royal line, the *Skjöldungasaga* harmonizes conflicting traditions.¹⁸⁴ This involves a train of consequences, among which are the following:—

¹⁸⁴ Finnur Jónsson, in his comment on the *Fróðskapdáttr*, regards the version of the Hroar-Helgi story contained in the *Skjöldungasaga* and the *Bjarkarímur* as earlier than the version contained in the *Hrólfs saga*. His most significant

1. "The short and chronicle-like form [i. e., of the Hroar-Helgi story] in the *Skjöldungasaga*, where the murderer is called Ingjald, not Frothi," is taken from the account that appears in the *Hrólfs-saga*; this account must therefore be earlier than the corresponding account in the *Skjöldungasaga*.

2. As the story about Frothi, Halfdan, etc., in the *Bjarkarmur* is substantially the same as in the *Skjöldungasaga*, it must be derived from the same source as the story in the *Skjöldungasaga*. The *Bjarkarmur* are, therefore, at this point a later composition than the corresponding portion of the *Hrólfs saga*; and this fact affords further corroboration of the idea that the stories in the *rimur* of Bjarki's slaying the wolf and Hjalti's slaying the bear are later than the *Hrólfs saga's* account of Bjarki's slaying the winged monster.

3. When the *Skjöldungasaga* says that Hrolf Kraki met Hrani-Odin on the expedition to Sweden, though nothing is said about such a meeting in *Snorri's Edda*, the idea is probably taken from a version of the story essentially as we have it in the *Hrólfs saga*.¹⁸⁶

statements bearing on the matter are as follows: "I *Skjöldungasaga*, der blandt de islandske kilder har størst betydning, har vi herfor [i. e., instead of Halfdan and Frothi] Hålfdan og Ingjald, der er halvbrødre, begge sønner af kong Fróði frækni; Halvdans moder er en datter af kong Jörund i Sverrig, Ingjalds moder er en datter af Sverting og Frodes virkelige hustru; herom ved vor saga altså intet. Halvdan er iflg. *Skj.* gift med en Sigrförr (således også i *Hrs.*, hvor hun pludselig dukker op). Deres børn er de samme som i sagaen; også her er Signý gift med Sævil. Ingjald dræber sin broder Halvdan og gifter sig med hans enke (heri finder vi motivet til at hun lader sig indebrænde med Frode i *Hrs.*, hvilket dér står ganske umotiveret)." — *Hrs. Bjark.*, Introd., p. 9.

The *Skjöldungasaga* does not, however, say that Ingjald's mother was a daughter of Swerting. It says, "Postea ducta alia, Ingialldum filium legitimum hæredem suscepit" (*Aarb.*, p. 111). And later it says that Ingjald married Swerting's daughter. The words of the saga are, "Ingialldus Frodonis filius Svertingi baronis paulo ante commemorati filiam in uxorem accepit firmioris gratiæ, ut omnibus visum, conciliandæ ergo" (*Aarb.*, p. 112). This would indicate that Ingjald was not the son of a daughter of Swerting.

¹⁸⁶ "Arngrim tilføjer, at natten efter var de hos en bonde, i. e., Hrane, hvis gaver de afsløg. (Footnote. Her træffer vi sikkert det oprindelige forhold, kun ét møde med Odin.) Hvorledes Rolv rejste videre, siges ikke i nogen af kilderne. Det er klart heraf, at Arngrims fremstilling står sagaen nærmere end *Skj.*, hvilket næppe kommer af, at Snorre skulde have udeladt det som Arngrim har; det har været den yngre bearbejdelse af *Skj.*, som A. Olrik vistnok med rette har ment at kunne påvise, som Arngrims fremstilling beror på." — Finnur Jónsson, *Hrs. Bjark.*, Introd., p. 25.

4. Though the *Hrólfs saga* is made up of elements of varying degrees of antiquity and merit, it contains features worthy of more consideration than has generally been accorded them.

5. In discussing the genealogy of the Danish kings in *Beowulf* and comparing it with that of other documents,¹⁸⁶ it is to be remembered that the *Skjoldungasaga* has no independent value as an authority in this connection; its value lies in its recognition of a conflict between the Ingjald lay and the story in the *Hrólfs saga*, and its attempt to harmonize the two.

6. On the whole, as Olrik says, "Hvor værdifuld den islandske *Skjoldungasaga* end er, den er selvfølgelig ikke på alle punkter at foretrække for enhver anden kilde."¹⁸⁷ When it disagrees with other documents, its statements should be scanned with care.

A little ought to be said about Saxo's treatment of the problem, the solution of which in the *Skjoldungasaga* has just been considered. The solution in the saga is based on the recognition of the fact that Frothi as a king who was slain (i. e., by Swerting) and later avenged by his son is irreconcilable with the idea that he slew his brother, whose sons later put Frothi to death and thus avenged their father's murder. Saxo solved the problem by employing two Frothi's,—namely Frothi IV, Ingjald's father, who was slain by Swerting and was avenged by his son, and Frothi V, Ingjald's successor, who slew his brother, Harald (i. e., Halfdan in the *Hrólfs saga*), and later was put to death by Harald's sons.

On the whole, Saxo's story presents something of an attempt to harmonize Danish and Old Norse tradition. The Danish tradition about the Hroar-Helgi group of kings Saxo preserves in his second book. The Old Norse tradition about them he utilizes in his seventh book, at a point where, in the line of Danish kings, it occurs according to the Old Norse conception of the matter.¹⁸⁸ In the latter connection he repeats certain features of the story as it appears in his second book. Ingjald who appears in the sixth book is really the same Ingjald (second book) whose son Agnar is slain by Bjarki; and Helgi (here called Halfdan) takes to sea, just as he does in the second book. All that concerns Hrólf Kraki, Yrsa, Bjarki, etc., Saxo omits from the seventh book; but

¹⁸⁶ See, for instance, Sarrazin's *König Hrodhgeirr und seine familie*; *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Aarb.*, pp. 164.

¹⁸⁸ See p. 85.

he gives Halfdan (Helgi) a career in Sweden, something like Helgi's (second book). Halfdan dies, however, without leaving an heir to the Danish throne; and this solves another problem, for thus the necessity of introducing Hrolf Kraki, Helgi's son, again, or some substitute for him, is obviated, and the story of this royal family is brought to an end.

Conclusion.

We have, therefore, only two versions of the Hroar-Helgi story (Saxo's version and the one in the *Hrólfs saga*), and these have been subjected to a variety of influences and manipulations. The two versions do not, however, always employ the same features in just the same way, as is exemplified in the treatment of the insanity motive; nor have they always retained the same features present in the source of influence, as where the place of concealment of the boys in one instance is a cave and in the other a hollow tree. But the possession of the two versions is valuable in this respect, that they afford a double confirmation of the source of influence, as in the instances just cited and in Frothi's consulting the witch.

It is a great transformation that has taken place in the fortunes of Hrothgar (Hroar) from the time we become acquainted with him as the famous King of the Danes in *Beowulf* till we finally see him in the *Hrólfs saga* sitting on the throne of Northumberland in England. But the conception of him that excludes him from the list of ancient kings of Denmark seems to have been shared by Snorri Sturlason; for in Snorri's *Ynglingasaga*, where Frothi, Halfdan, Helgi, Hrolf Kraki, and other early Danish kings are mentioned, and where one would expect something to be said about Hroar also, his name does not occur and there is no reference to him whatever.

The foregoing explanation of how Hroar came to be regarded as King of Northumberland has a bearing on *Beowulf*-criticism. The name of Hroar's wife is given as Ögn. In *Beowulf*, Hrothgar's wife, Wealhtheow, is called a Helming and is supposed to be an English lady. In support of this idea, Sarrazin¹⁸⁹ and, following him, Thomas Arnold¹⁹⁰ have stated that perhaps we have a reminiscence of her nationality in that of Ögn. But, as we have seen, there is no connection between the two women.

¹⁸⁹ *Beow.-Stud.*, pp. 41 ff., and *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, p. 228.

¹⁹⁰ *Notes, Beow.*, pp. 43.

Finally, let it be stated that not all has been said about the Hroar-Helgi story that one would like to say. One would like to be able to trace still more in detail the development of the story and account for all the variations between the two versions. Such knowledge is, however, vouchsafed in very few instances. But if what has been said is substantially correct, a little has been added to what was known before about this interesting story.

III

GENERAL SUMMARY.

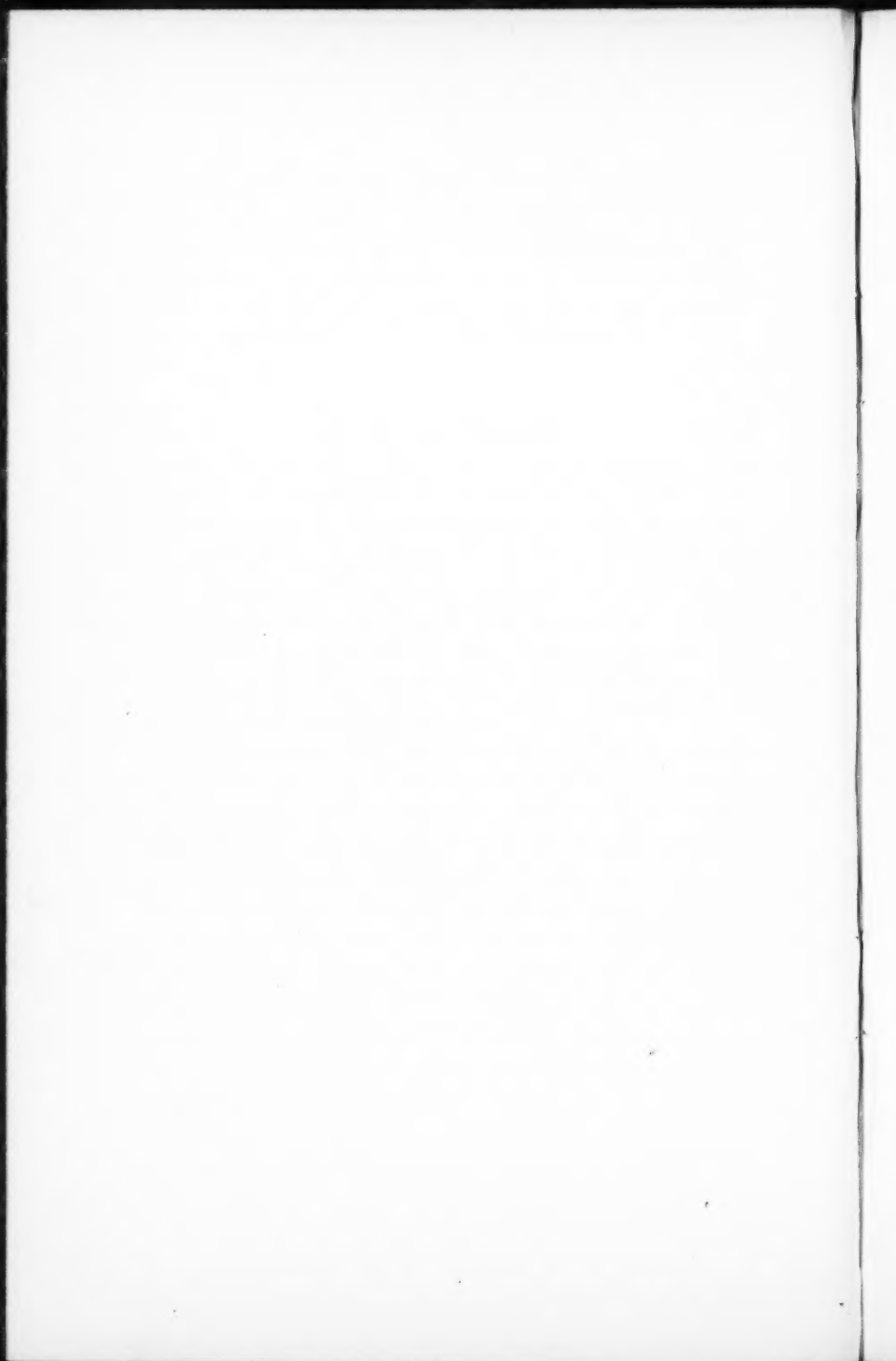
From what has been said, it will be seen that the origin of the dragon in the *Bǫðvarsþáttir* of the *Hrólfs saga* has hitherto been unperceived and the story of Bjarki's fight with the dragon has not been understood. Neither of the two has any connection with *Beowulf*. The *Bjarkarmur* throw no light on the *Beowulf* problem, for the story of Bjarki's slaying the wolf and that of Hjalti's slaying the bear are later than the story of Bjarki's slaying the dragon and were written by one who had the story of Bjarki's fight with the dragon in mind. Moreover, the story told in the *rímur* in connection with Hjalti's slaying the bear is merely an adaptation of the story told in the *Hrólfs saga* about Bjarki's father.

The *Fróðapáttir* of the *Hrólfs saga* embodies an earlier form of the Hroar-Helgi story than is found in the *Skjöldungasaga* and the *Bjarkarmur*; and this confirms the idea that the story in the *Hrólfs saga* of Bjarki's fight with the winged monster is earlier than the corresponding stories in the *Bjarkarmur*. Aside from the influence exerted by the Hamlet story, the *Fróðapáttir* version and Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story are the result of influences emanating from the "exile-return" type of story in England, and, more particularly, the Meriadoc story and the Macbeth story, which were well known to Scandinavians in Great Britain.

The version of the Hroar-Helgi story which we find in the *Skjöldungasaga* and the *Bjarkarmur* is the result of an attempt to harmonize conflicting traditions emanating from events about which we now find the first account in *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, as is also Saxo's treatment of the same matter in his sixth and seventh books.

The change of names in Saxo's version of the Hroar-Helgi story is the result of arbitrary action on his part in order to conceal the

fact that he introduces into his history the Hroar-Helgi group of kings a second time, namely in his seventh book, and gives an account of them that conflicts with the account already given of them in his second book.



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NOTES ON THE *NORNAGESTS ÞÁTTR*

Like the other *þættir*, or episodes, of the Ólafssagas the *Nornagests þáttir* serves in a way to shed lustre on the king who attracts to his Christian sphere, and incorporates into his *hírð*, all the famous heroes of his own time, aye those of remotest antiquity as well;—such as Gest (called Nornagest) who, another Wandering Jew, has seen and has fought under, the great hero-kings of the fornöld and the earliest historic times, under Sigurd fáfnisbani and the Gjukungs, the Loðbróksons, Eric Uppsalaking, Harold Wartooth, and Harold Hairfair; and finally resorts to the court of Ólaf Tryggvason, attracted by that king's fame.

As Sophus Bugge had demonstrated,¹ the framework of this *þáttir* is a Meleager motif. At Gest's birth three *völur* or prophetesses (her also called Norns) had been called in to lay the gifts of fortune into his cradle. Just as in the widely spread Dornröschen story² two of them foretell his coming good fortune; but the third is incensed³ and dooms him to live only so long as the candle lasts which is lit by his side; whereupon one of the older *völur* quickly extinguishes it and hands it to his mother with the warning never to light it till his dying day. After having told Ólaf Tryggvason his story he is baptized.⁴ Then, with Nornagest's consent, the fatal candle is lit and he dies.

¹ Helgedigtene, pp. 99 ff.

² For a list of the various versions see Bolte und Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*. I, 439.

³ *Hin yngsta nornin þóttist oflitils metin af hinum tveim, er þeir spurðu hana eigi eptir; var þá ok mikil ribbalda sveit, er henni hratt or sinu sæti, ok feldu til jarðar.*—Concerning the *sveit*, the *sæti*, and the methods in general, of the *völur*, cf. Gering, *Über Weissagung und Zauber im nordischen Altertum*, 1902, and Finnur Jónsson, in *Þrjár ritgjörðir tileinkaðar P. Melsted*, 1892, p. 8 ff. The large and sometimes unruly following of the *völur* seems to have been necessary to form the concentric circles for the effective singing of the magic *varðlögur*; cf. the excellent article of Magnus Olsen, *Maal og Minne* 1916, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Konungur mælti: "Hví fórtu nú hingat til vár?" Gestr svarar: "Þessu sveif mér i hug, allaða ek mik nokkut auðnubragð af yðr hljóta mundu, þóat þér eruð mjök lofaðir af góðum mönnum ok vitrum. Konungur segir: "Viltu nú taka hér skírn?" Gestr svarar: þat vil ek nú gera eptir yðru ráði,"* I follow Bugge's text, in *Norræne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold*, 1864, which is based on Cod. Arn.-Magn. 62 fol. (S). Other editions: Fas. 1, 310; Fornm. s. X, 422; Ftb. 1, 346; in Wilken, *Die prosaische Edda*, 235.

One night the pious king Ólaf Tryggvason was in bed, wakeful and praying, while all other men were asleep in his lodgings. Then it seemed to the king as if an elf or spirit (*einn alfr eða andi*) entered into the house though the doors were locked. He went before every man's couch and finally stopped where lay a man near the door. Then he said: Wondrously strong locks are here on an empty house, and the king is not as wise as others deem when they claim him to be the wisest of men, seeing that he lies asleep now. Then the elf vanished through the closed door.

The páttir, or rather the monkish scribe, has the following naive explanation of this apparition: But the elf said this about the lock because Gest had signed himself with the cross, in the evening, like other men, but was in reality a heathen. However, it was of the most common occurrence that men were merely prime-signed; see below.

Evidently the spirit observed by Ólaf was the fylgja or attendant spirit of Gest who—as we learn directly—had entered the house unbeknown to the king.

Early the next morning the king sends his page to find out who had come. The arrival of an unknown man is announced to him who says his name is Gest. This man was of courteous manners and appearance, of larger size than men usually, and somewhat advanced in years. When asked about his origin he answers: "Þórðr was the name of my father, and he was called Þinghusbíttr, of Danish stock. He dwelled on that estate in Denmark which is called Grœningr."

Gest proves to be a master in story telling, in playing on the harp and in reciting lays, and he is wise in all manner of things: so much so that the king's followers urge him to keep on with his tales and the king himself, though with some misgivings, delights in listening to his heathenish accounts of the kings of yore.

Who is this Gest? Or, rather, with whose attributes has the author of the story fitted him out?

His name immediately suggests relationship with that *Gestumblindi*⁵ who, in the *Hervararsaga*, impersonates the *bondi* of the same name who is bidden to measure himself in riddles with wise king Heiðrek and who turns out to be Odin himself. The story-

⁵ Cf. the Odin names *Helblindi*, *Herblindi* (*Grimnism.* 47) and *Gunnblindi*, *Skáldsk.* *Odinsheiti*.

teller had not far to go to lend his figure color, once he had chosen the frame work of his story. Not only Meleager and the Wandering Jew but Odin also was the wanderer (*Gangleri*, *Vafuðr*, *Vegtamr*) and has been the companion of the heroes of old.

Gest calls himself the son of Þórðr, whose epithet is þing (hus)-bitr,⁶ i. e., one who bites (or arouses strife) in the þing (hus) or assembly hall. In the *Grimnismál* 49 Odin mentions as one of his many names þrór⁷ þingum at, i. e., "þrór in the assemblies." Now the name þrór (here changed, designedly, perhaps, to þórðr) is explained as the "causer of strife." This epithet exactly suits the god of battle who is ever busy inciting strife among princes. Cf. e. g., *Helgakviða Hundingsstana*, ii, 34:

*Einn veldr Óðinn
öllo bqli,
þvat med sífungum
sacrúnar bar.*

"Odin alone is the causer of all evil, because he with hate-runes incited the kinsmen"; and *Hárbarðsljóð*

*Var ek a Vallandi
og vigom fylgðak,
attak jofrom
en aldri sættak.*

"In Valland I was, attended battles, I egged on the princes but never reconciled them."

Still further, Gest says that his father was of Danish stock and dwelled on that estate which is called Grœningr. But "green" is the recurring attribute of the earth, as the home of men. Thus in the *Alvissmál* the earth is called *igrôn* 'the very green'—in contrast with the giants' world of naked rock and ice. In the *Rígsþula* Heimdall is said to walk *grœnar brautir*⁸ 'green ways,' i. e., 'the earth.' We remember that Heimdall is a god of the tribe of the Vanir and that in the *Alvissmál* the kenning of the Vanir for earth is *vega*, 'ways.' Also, according to *Hárbarðsljóð*, 16, *Algrôn* is the name of the island on which Hárbarð-Odin, in company with Fjölvar, spends five years in battles and adventures; that is, on the green earth where, in the words of the *Völuspá*

⁶ Ftb. version has þingbitr. Cf. Wilken, voc. *Pros. Edda*, sub þórðr.

⁷ Also the name of a dwarf in the *dvergahiti* of the *Völuspá*.

⁸ The same phrase occurs, to be sure, in the *Fáfnismál*, st. 41.

*grund vas gróin
grónum lauki,*

'the ground was grown with green herbs.'

As to Þórðr being said to be of Danish stock it is to be kept in mind that the Icelanders, both in folklore and learned cosmogonies, maintained that the cult of Odin was introduced from the South and still had its main seat there.

Let me emphasize that I am not claiming Gest to be Odin himself,⁹ but that the author of the þátrr, in casting about for attributes to give the figure of the wanderer some fullness, simply borrowed the stereotype features of the ancient godhead.

Nowhere does Gest take an active part in the events narrated by him. Hence we are justified in holding him to have been invented ad hoc as a bearer of the Meleager motif and thus a convenient peg whereon to hang all manner of mythic-heroic legends and fragments of Eddic poetry which clung in the author's mind.

No sooner did Christianity become established in Scandinavia but the ancient divinities were debased into evil spirits, more or less closely allied to the Christian devil. Þórr may be said to have escaped this process, his good-natured impetuosity and red beard amalgamating with the historic features of king Ólaf the Saint. Odin, on the other hand, representing the secret arts and the magic lore of the heathens is frequently found reappearing as an evil spirit, tempting men to relapse into *inn forna sið*.

As is natural, such stories attached themselves more particularly to Ólaf the Saint, for political reasons. In fact, we may safely assert that the genre began with his saga and spread only afterwards to the other Christian kings of Norway.

In the so-called historic *Ólafssaga helga*¹⁰ we find a cluster dealing with encounters of Ólaf with supernatural personages. Two of these contain the essential elements of the framework of the Nornagests þátrr, and therefore possibly suggested its idea. The similarities will be evident.

The first þátrr tells of a man whom the king rather reluctantly accepts into his company. This man, who also calls himself Gest, is described as unfriendly and overbearing. He wears his hood pulled down over his eyes so that one could not make out his face.

⁹ As do e.g., Mogk, *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 115, Wilken, *Sn. Edda*, Voc. sub Nornagest. Golther, *Handbuch d. germ. Myth.* p. 341.

¹⁰ Ftb. II, §§ 106, 107.

He was bearded. The king forbids his men to have much to do with the stranger; but in the evening, when retiring, he asks Gest to come to his bedside for entertainment. And then the man proves to be both full of lore and ready of speech.¹¹ He asks Ólaf who of the kings of old he would like to be if he had the choice. The king suspects a ruse but finally—while insisting on remaining a Christian—consents to say that Hrólfr kraki would be his choice. Gest is displeased thereat and asks why he does not prefer to be like that king who was victorious in all battles and likewise so handsome and athletic that his like was not in the North, and besides had the gift to make his chieftains as victorious as himself—one to whom verse-making was as easy as speaking to other men. Thereupon the king sat up in bed and, seizing his breviary, was about to throw it at Gest with the words: "least of all would I be evil Odin," when the tempter sinks into the ground.

In the third þáttir the following is told: One day when the king was in Sarpsborg a certain Toki Tokason approached him, asking to be accepted into the *hirð* for a while. The king grants his prayer and Toki (very much like Nornagest) turns out to be well-mannered and popular. The king enjoyed his conversation because of his wise answers and the fulness of his lore. Toki was an old man but it was evident that he had formerly been of unusual strength and beauty. One day the king asked him how old he was. Toki said he hardly knew himself. He was certain only of having been foretold that he was to live the length of two men's lives,¹² and that his end was near now. Then he relates the trials of strength he had with the followers of Hrólfr kraki and King Hálf—which, to be sure, would have required a more generous allowance of life than here allotted to the contemporary of Ólaf the Saint! The king asks him whether he is a Christian, Toki says that he is 'prime-signed,' as he had to deal both with heathens and Christians, and that he had finally repaired to the pious king's court in order to be baptized there. This is done and he dies (like Nornagest) *í hvíttavogðum*—in the white weeds of the newly baptized.

We have learned to doubt the autochthonous origin of the more composite folklore motifs. The Meleager motif employed in the

¹¹ So far, the story is paralleled by the one of Odin's visit with Ólaf Trygvason, *Hskgl.*, ch. 64.

¹² Cf. the supernatural span of life granted to Qrvar-Odd (300 years) and to Starkad (three men's lives) *Qrvaroddss.*, ch. II, Saxo, book XVI.

Nornagest þátrr very probably was not indignant. It was used quite frequently in Mediæval French literature, the oldest instances being found in the *Amadis* (13th century) and *Ogier le Danois* (14th century). To this may be added another, if but trifling, evidence of Southern influence.

Of his service under the sons of Lodbrók Gest tells the following story:¹³ I was a short while with the Lodbróks sons when they were hurrying south of Mundifjall and intended to proceed on Rome. One day a pilgrim came to king Bjorn Ironside. He said his name was *Sones* and that he came from Rome. The king asked him how long the journey was thither. *Sones* shows him his iron shoes, how they are worn down from the length of the journey. Whereupon the Lodbróks sons decide that the way to Rome is too long and desist from an attack on it.

Now as to the name of the pilgrim Finnur Jónsson holds¹⁴ that it arose through a verbal misunderstanding of the text though he fails to explain exactly how.—S. Bugge remarks¹⁵ that both name and story have a foreign aspect and suggests that it may be of Latin or Romance origin.

In the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed* for 1907, p. 1 ff., Kristian Nyrop has an article entitled "Norske Forhold i det 13de aarhundrede efter en samtidig fransk kilde." In it he discusses the descriptions of Norwegian nature and manners contained in the 13th century French epic of *Sone de Nansai* and comes to the conclusion that "there is considerable probability that the trouvère who depicted the hero *Sone's* sojourn in Norway had himself visited that country. . . . In itself there is nothing surprising in a Frenchman having visited Scandinavia in the 13th century when one remembers that, during Hákon Hákonson's time there was frequent literary intercourse between France and Norway." It is the period when scores of French epics were translated into Norwegian and courtiers and merchants were advised (as in the *Speculum Regale*) to learn especially Latin and French: *latinu ok völsku, þvát þær tungur ganga víðast*.

If the poet of the French poem had visited Norway it is perhaps not too bold to assume that he made the acquaintance of some

¹³ Practically the same story is told in the *Ragnarssaga lodbrókar*, chap. xiii, but (as in the Ftb. version of the N.) the name *Sones* is lacking.

¹⁴ *Litt. hist.* p. 847: navnet. . . beror vistnok kun på en fejllæsning.

¹⁵ In his "Anmærkninger," ed. p. 80.

clerics—it is likely that he visited some cloister—and who knows but the one who inserted this name into this version of the story may have had the whim to attach the name of the heroic knight to the pilgrim who discourages the sons of Lodbrók from approaching Rome.

Examining the contents of the epic in the detailed resumé of Langlois in his *La Société Française dans la Treizieme siècle* I find that Sone began his career as an errant knight who visits the north, especially Ireland, Scotland, and Norway. As a reward for his services against the Irish he is given the hand of the Norwegian princess Odée, inherits the throne of Norway, is called by the pope to defend Rome, and finally becomes emperor of Rome and defender of the Faith against the Saracens. Nowhere, to be sure, is he mentioned as a pilgrim, though there is a bare possibility of such an episode in the lacuna of some 2400 lines in the epic. Still, it was he who saved Rome from the Infidels.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

University of Wisconsin

PESSIMISM IN TEGNÉR'S POETRY

In a previous article ("Försoningen in Tegnér's Frithiofssaga," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. X), the writer traced Tegnér's religious views as expressed in his poetry. The following article is written with a view towards supplementing the former by tracing in Tegnér's poetry his pessimistic attitude towards life.

Tegnér's religion and poetry were always closely identified; to study his art is to study his religion as well. His poetic activity was a varied and extensive one, manifesting itself now in Old Norse themes after the Gothic style, now in shorter lyric poems and now in didactic or philosophical poems on formal occasions. Living in an age when the Romantic view of life laid emphasis upon its sadder phases, when the spirit of *Werther*, of *Novalis* and *Tieck*, of *Byron* and *Young* was still deep-seated in the hearts of men, it is not at all surprising to find that Tegnér too imbibed much of this spirit. Yet, on the whole, his poetry was not pervaded with a spirit of gloom. Altho his native tendency to hypochondria and his sympathy with the proverbial "Weltschmerz" of the day played an important part in the spirit of his poetry, they have, nevertheless, been unduly emphasized. It is, of course, true that Tegnér often did express this phase of his temperament, but his poetry shows, nevertheless, a surprisingly strong element of optimism and of healthy joy in life; and above all it reveals a faith that was never shaken in God's wisdom and love and in the ultimate triumph of the spirit. In fact, if one reads Tegnér in his entirety, so buoyant in his faith, so firm in his devotion to the highest and best in life, one is inclined to feel that he bears, on the whole, the spiritual stamp of a *Tennyson* or *Browning* rather than the mark of the cynical *Byron*, whose influence upon him he himself acknowledged. Like all human beings, Tegnér was a creature of moods, but while the darker moments of despair often colored the expression of his emotions, as a whole, his poetry reveals a spirit unbroken by misfortune and still retaining a sweet-souled attitude towards life. Tho by temperament very serious and prone to hypochondria, he was sustained by a grand religion, which raised him far above that pessimism which makes life a tragedy and the universe a chaos in which the eternal verities become a mockery. He saw life as it was and accepted it as such, yet behind all was the great

spirit of good that pervades the universe. Tegnér can, therefore, hardly be termed a pessimist in the essence of his religion or in his philosophy of life, yet his poetry was often colored by morose brooding and the realization of bitter realities. In this he typified the Swedish genius, and it is just this element of his poetry which deserves particular attention, not only as an expression of Tegnér's individual art, but also as the expression of that which was and is best in the Swedish nation.

First of all, we must realize that Tegnér suffered continually with a physical ailment (probably, to a large degree, inherited), which naturally darkened his thoughts. Tho finally crowned with success in his life's work and hailed as Sweden's national poet, his life, nevertheless, was very unhappy; for the inner harmony upon which the happiness of every individual rests, was completely destroyed by his unfortunate position as Bishop of the Lutheran Church, in which he realized that he had forfeited his life's work and sacrificed his genius at the altar of duty. These are extenuating circumstances which explain to a very large degree the individual tone of bitterness, despair and contempt which especially after 1824 found expression in his poetry. But there was in Tegnér's temperament something that was very national over and above the personal conditions or vicissitudes of his life, namely that fundamental seriousness of character which viewed life as a stern reality. In his critical views regarding the composition of his *Frithiofssaga* (*Anmärkingar såsom inledning till Frithiofssaga*, 1839) Tegnér recognized this as a national characteristic, that the fundamental tone of the Swedish national folk-song was elegiac, but that this natural propensity upon the part of the Swedish people was not contradictory to their robust and healthy temperament, in fact it was just this seriousness which gave the national genius its peculiar temper and character.¹ In the elegy to his brother, *Elof Tegnér* (1815), whom he idealized in his love, he

¹ "Det går som en elegisk grundton genom alla våra gamla nationalmelodier och i allmänhet genom allt det betydningsfullare i våra häfder; ty det ligger på bottnen af nationens hjerta. Jag har någonstädes sagt om Bellman, vår mest nationella skald:

Och märk det vemodsdraget öfver pannan
ett nordiskt sångardrag,
en sorg i rosenrödt!

ty detta vemod står icke i strid med det lefnadsglada och friska i national lynnet; det ger endast mera intensitet och spänstighet."

pictured Elof just as he later did Bellman, with the national stamp of seriousness upon his brow, yet withal smiling and hopeful—

Hur stod du icke, mig en föresyn,

med tankens allvar . . . , som kan le jemväl.

It is this element of seriousness which Tegnér infused into his *Frithiofssaga*, especially into the character of *Ingeborg*, making her a worthy idealization of the Swedish woman, whose faithfulness and courage, united with a deep-seated love, gave literary expression to the peculiar stamp of the Swedish character.

Life is a constant struggle between good and evil, a curious mixture of contradictory elements of which joy and sorrow are the expression. At times, it seems as if Tegnér were overwhelmed by the darker aspects of life, as, for instance, when he wrote the little verse—*Sorg och glädje*—about sorrow and joy, in which, after the manner of the pessimist Schopenhauer, he felt sorrow to be a reality, but joy a delusion—

Glädje och sorg beherska alltjämt menskliga hjertat,
menniskotanken dernäst styres af sanning och lögn,
att ej skilja dem åt lät himlen sorgen bli sanning,
glädjen bli skimrande lögn, detta är lifvets mystèr.

But near the end of his life (1840) when he bade farewell to his lyre (*Afsked till min lyra*), he felt that joy was after all as much a reality as sorrow and that the great things of life, such as art and religion, really did give a permanent, everlasting joy that was no delusion—

Jag vet ej rätt, såsom min lefnad skridit,
om mer jag fröjdats eller mer jag lidit.

This was quite characteristic of Tegnér, for the poet's final judgment was generally optimistic, "med tankens allvar . . . , som kan le jemväl." His poetry is just this mixture of sorrow and joy, in which the national temper of seriousness is ever present, but in which a courage and hopefulness persist in spite of the elegiac undertone.

Tegnér was a sensitive spirit, within whom there was a well-defined sense of right and wrong, of justice and oppression. It was rather in the *ethical* than in the *spiritual* world that his soul could not find adjustment; his principal grievance was, therefore, directed against *man* rather than against *God*. Nourished on the larger humanism of Schiller and strengthened by the noble character of Kant's ethics, Tegnér felt the age in which he lived to be weak, narrow and destitute of high character. His sympathy for

Gothic ideals, his attacks upon the spirit of the Swedish people (cf. *Svea*, 1811), his pessimistic attitude towards European politics (cf. *Nyåret*, 1816), all showed him to be painfully conscious of the short-comings of his own nation, as well as of the fact that "the whole world was out of joint." Even as early as 1799, while a student at Lund, he writes—

Vårt hopp följde seklets framrullande flod,
att uti dess sköte se frukterna burna
utaf deras mödor—men mörker och blod
från botten flöt utaf dess urna.

Not only abroad but at home the spirit of man was pusillanimous and weak, as he writes soon afterwards (1804) in *Vid en borgarflickas graf*—

Forndygd, med dess allvar, är begravnen,
tidens ande är så svag, så trång:
döf är menniskan, och döf är grafven;—
tystna, skaldmö, med din enkla sång!

Tegnér was at this time so deeply affected by human weakness and injustice that he acknowledged his loss of faith in humanity, for in 1817 in a poem to *L. P. Munthe*, he thanked the latter for having restored to him this faith and given him back his hope again—

tack ännu i evigheten
för hvar ren och skön gestalt,
jag trott se i dödligheten,
för min tro på menskligheten,
för mitt hopp, för allt, för allt.

That Tegnér felt the State to be to blame for the unfortunate situation in which he found himself in 1824 is evident from his letters.² The tragedy of his life, therefore, goes back finally to the social organization, towards which he often expressed a strong personal grievance.

In connection with Tegnér's pessimistic views concerning man there may have been, besides this lack of adjustment to his office

² Gustaf III gaf sina skalder kanske en falsk riktning, men der jämte gaf han dem en oberoende existens och en ärofull möjlighet att lefva för sin konst. Nu ger man oss stjärnor och band och statens högsta och ansvarsfulla ämbeten. En man af ära världslosar ej den tjenst han mottagit, och med poesien får det gå som det kan, hon får åtnöja sig med hvad som blir öfver af tid och förmåga. Sverige er kanske mer än man föreställer sig utomlands de stora anlagens land både för vetenskap och konst, *men vi komma sällan till någon mognad; vår genius blir frostbiten liksom våra skördar.*"

as Bishop and its grievous consequences upon his art, something personal which he never completely divulged. In a letter to *Brinkman* (1825) the year after the acceptance of this office, he hinted to the latter concerning a broken friendship or possibly love, which added bitterness to his life. "If one is forced," he writes, "to despise a character whom one has loved, then one experiences the most bitter thing life has to offer." He left no clue as to what this relation might have been, but it is evident that still another personal sorrow was now added to his cup. Critics have been wont to ascribe the theme of renunciation in love (*försakelse i kärleken*), which appears so strongly in *Frithiofssaga* and in *Axel* and which was to have appeared in *Gerda*, to such a personal experience, but this motif is the essence of Christian love and as such would naturally have appealed to Tegnér, whose poetry was, for the most part, only the expression of his religion.

In such a frame of mind it is no wonder that Tegnér's views of life lacked equipoise and judgment during the next few years after 1824. Many of his political views and especially his contradictory attitude in political life may rightly be attributed to this dejected frame of mind. In 1825 appeared his celebrated poem, *Mjeltsjukan*, which expressed the lowest point to which the pendulum of Tegnér's spirit had swung. His soul had become shrouded in the darkness of despair, but even here we can see that altho he had lost his confidence in man he still retained his faith in God.

Tegnér's pessimism, being mainly directed towards man as an individual in the social and political organization, is most conspicuous in the poems directed against the spirit of his age (cf. especially *Nyåret*), whereas the brighter hope of his religion generally modified the expression of this attitude whenever the poet was concerned with a purely philosophical or religious theme.

Tegnér's love of nature and life often found expression in his poetry. He sang to the stars, the sun, the trees (cf. *Stjernasången*, 1812; *Träden*, 1813; *Sång till solen*, 1817) and in the spirit of the true Romanticist he found the immanent God in all His works. His pantheism was a part of his joyous doctrine of life, in which he found a brotherhood in all created things (cf. especially *Träden*, and *Försoningen* in the *Frithiofssaga*). Indeed, the prevailing sentiment of lament in contemporaneous literature he felt to be out of tune with the true spirit of poetry. After the fashion of Goethe's inspiring *Zueignung* (1784) Tegnér in his *Sången* (1819) heralds the

Genius of Poetry as a joyous Spirit who cannot tolerate grief nor gloom—

ty skaldens sorger äro inga
och sångens himmel evigt klar.

Poetry is a balsam for the heart's grief—

Mot hvarje qval, hans hjerta sårar—
dess helsodryck en läkdom fått.

which directly reflects Goethe's own words which the latter in his *Zueignung* puts into the mouth of the Genius of Poetry—

“Erkennst du mich, die in manche Wunde
Des Lebens dir den reinsten Balsam goss?”

And in his *Epilog* of 1820, Tegnér expresses in the following beautiful lines the divine nature of poetry—

Men på dess gator vandra upp och ner
ovanskliga, olympiska gestalter,
af strålar väfda och af rosendoft;

of which the last line is a literal translation of Goethe's own words—

Aus Morgenduft gewoben und Sonnenklarheit.

In fact, in his *Epilog* of 1829 Tegnér awarded to Goethe the poet's throne (*ty tronen är Göthes*) which even the favored *Oehlenschläger* was denied. Tho avowing³ his preference for Schiller and averring a lack of sympathy for the universality of Goethe's genius, it is evident, nevertheless, that Tegnér was impressed⁴ with the healthy, joy-giving spirit of Goethe's perfect poise of character. Tegnér's love of nature and his spiritual faith found something akin in Goethe's optimism which was, however, far less personal than that of the Swedish poet. But the vicissitudes of Tegnér's life,

³ “Goethe är den universellaste af alla poeter. Han sprider sig som ljuset åt alla möjliga håll. Men därför saknar han också hvad man kallar individualitet—han ger oss hela den bildade mensklighetens individualitet i stället för sin egen. Han är ett abstractum af poesi. Schiller lägger hela sitt rika väsen i hvarje äfven den obetydligaste dikt.”

⁴ To this Tegnér gave expression later in his poem dedicated to *Franzen* as introductory to his *Kronbruden* (1841),

Dock—djup är *Faust*, och hur *Tasso* glöder!
hur varm *Ottilia*, innerlig *Mignon*!
Förstånd från Norden, känslor ifrån Söder
förmålta skönt uti hans gudasång.
Hvar hjertat älskar, hjertat gläds och blöder,
der har den väldige sin stilla gång.
I vetenskap, som konst vi ständigt möte
på spetsen af sin tid den blott för lugne Goethe.

as well as his natural tendency to hypochondria, threw him off his poise at times, so that the darker aspects of life found expression in his poetry in spite of the joyous spirit which he had in his *Sången* attributed to its Genius.

We shall now consider just what these aspects were. First of all, the contemplation of death and the grave forms a very large element in Tegnér's poetry. This is quite natural not only because the poet was a priest whose temperament was serious and contemplative but also because the prevailing literature of the Romantic School was permeated with this spirit.

Ossian, as Tegnér himself said, was *tidens modebok*, from which he early in life, thru Macpherson's translation, had drawn much inspiration. In fact, Tegnér gives direct evidence of his enthusiasm for Ossian in his poem *Till min hembygd* (1804) in which he pictures⁵ Ossian, the Genius of the poet's early years, standing in the wild winds upon the cliff and singing those divine songs "which have come down thru the ages with the gentleness of a dove and the roar of thunder." Consequently, the proverbial moon-light effect, the nightingale and the sighing winds are reflected very strongly in Tegnér's poetry, whenever the grave or death appears.

The influence of *Herder* and especially of *Rousseau* upon Tegnér was quite marked. When Tegnér made his first visit to Stockholm he said that in spite of the great advantages a large city had to offer, he had too much of Rousseau in his veins to feel himself at home. Tegnér loved the simplicity of nature and in it sought, like Rousseau, the solution of the life, social and religious. In his poems, *Kulturen* (1805) and *Fridsröster* (1808), he trusts the primitive instincts of man to lead us aright thru the maze of life, which no intellect can penetrate. The search for "the Original" (*det ursprungliga*), which Rousseau had instituted, was the prime impulse in the Romantic movement.

Young too, who in his philosophic contemplation of nature (*Night Thoughts*, 1743) asserted the dignity of man and the glorification of the Deity in nature, found expression again and again in Tegnér's elegies.

⁵ Så var den glömda bygd, som födde Ossians yra.
Med guden i sitt bröst, med vinden i sitt hår,
han stod på klippans spets och sjöng.—Försvunna år
som hamnar stego opp att dansa kring hans lyra:
fram genom sekler kom hans gudasång
med dufvans enfald och med dundrets gång.

The philosophy of *Kant* and the humanism of *Schiller* exerted a strong influence upon Tegnér, which is especially marked in his philosophical and religious poems, particularly those of a longer discursive or didactic character, in which the personal element is absorbed in the universal law. The Kantian philosophy and system of ethics, however, were impressed upon Tegnér chiefly thru their expression in Schiller's poetry. As early as 1804 Tegnér gave up the study of Kant in despair, on the ground that the abstractions⁶ of Kant's philosophy could not be comprehended by a mind so concrete as his own. Of other German poets besides Schiller who impressed themselves upon Tegnér's poetry in connection with the darker and more serious contemplation of life, *Bürger* also was important (a fuller discussion of whom will follow later in this article).

Byron, whose influence was deeply felt thruout the Romantic world, left a very strong impression upon Tegnér, in spite of the fact that the latter evidently struggled to throw off the sinister effect of the English poet's dark view of life. In fact, Byron seemed to be Tegnér's evil Genius, whose influence he sought to oppose but whose crushing, pessimistic views of life so nearly accorded with his own, when in a dejected mood, that in these darker moments he showed a very strong affinity with the English poet in thought, diction and style. Even as early as the year 1820, when discussing the merits of Byron's poetry, he unwittingly confessed his kinship to Byron. "Every one," he writes⁷ "has his dark hours, when he doubts God or man (which is the same thing); but doubt in itself is not to be despised. It is man's anchor in time of storm." He then praises the beauty of Byron's verse and his power of presentation. Two years later (1822) *Axel* appeared, which showed a marked resemblance to Byron's style and poetic diction. Yet in this same year Tegnér openly avowed that Byron seemed to him more and more gloomy and that in spite of all his genius the English poet was positively repulsive (*vidrig*) to him. It was characteristic of Tegnér that his ultimate faith was never broken but that at times he yielded to his native tendency to hypochondria.

⁶ "Med mitt konkreta sinne har jag föga tycke eller fallenhet för dessa abstrakta spekulationer."

⁷ "En hvar har sina mörka stunder, då man tviflar på Gud eller, som här vill säga det samma, på menskligheten; men tviflet i sig sjelft är icke förkastligt. Det är människans nödankare."

It was at these moments that the dark Byron exerted his sinister influence upon him. Even in the year 1825, when *Mjeltsjukan* appeared, he referred contemptuously to an article in *Stockholmsposten*, in which there was hinted a certain affinity (*frändskap*) between his poetry and Byron's. Tegnér asserted that the only person in the world who could see such a resemblance was the author of the article himself. "What similarity," he writes, "can be detected between his *demonic* and my *humane* nature, between his *dark* and my *happy*, yea perhaps even *frivolous* philosophy of life, between his *blue, sulphuric flames* and my *sparkling display of fire-works*." There is a great deal of truth in this assertion of Tegnér; for the heart of his philosophy and religion was directly opposed to that of Byron. But in his attitude towards man Tegnér's pessimism caught up the Byronic strain in spite of himself and he found that when under the influence of this sentiment he was, after all, in many respects akin to Byron. Late in this same year, Dec. 1825, he confessed in a letter to *Martina von Schwerin* that he was beginning to have a better understanding and appreciation of Byron. "A certain contempt," he writes, "for the two-legged race of dogs, called *man*, seems to me now no longer so unpoetical." And in a song to Franzén he praised Byron as one of those who had infused their own soul into poetry. Furthermore, Tegnér's criticism of Byron, as a poet, is significant in that he felt Byron to be weak in inventing situations but strong in presentation and description—a criticism which can rightly be brought against Tegnér himself.

Byron's influence upon Tegnér, therefore, was very marked, but mainly to be seen whenever the latter was overwhelmed with a sense of despair and a lack of faith in man. It will be shown that this pessimism marked Tegnér only when in a dejected mood, that it was not a consistent philosophy of life on Tegnér's part, inasmuch as his cynical views, then expressed, were repeatedly refuted elsewhere in his poetry when his spirit had regained, or was in, its normal state of poise.

In his contemplation of life and death, Tegnér emphasized the Christian precept that mortal life is but mere vanity and that the only great comfort and permanent satisfaction for the human soul is the life beyond; therefore, life is but a preparation for a higher existence and every soul must so live in accordance with the eternal verities that he shall pass from this life to the next in one

Tho Tegnér here leaves this question unanswered, it nevertheless finds a most conclusive answer four years later (1808) in *Frids-röster*, in which he trusts the primitive religious instinct in man to lead the spirit to God. Religious faith is an instinct entirely apart from the intellect, and it is religion alone which is our final comforter; a faith which Tegnér himself held and to which he often gave poetic expression (cf. especially *Nattvardsbaren*, the canto *Försoningen* in the *Frithiofs saga*). In *Frids-röster*, for instance, he says—

Ack, hvad gör det hur vi kalla
denne far, som dock är vår?
Hvad tillfälligt är må falla,
det väsentliga består.
Männ' den vise med sin lära,
än så djup, så konstigt byggd,
kommer världens Gud mer nära,
än den vilde med sin dygd.

In *Förvillelsen* Tegnér expresses himself in a state of doubt, which is natural to all man-kind in view of the mystery of the universe, that doubt which he later (1820) characterized as "a thing not to be despised, man's anchor in time of storm" (cf. above with reference to Byron). Even when he asks the final question as to the efficacy of the intellect (i.e., truth) in solving this mystery, his words imply that it at least cannot be done outside the spirit realm, for he refers to the material world as being enveloped in darkness (the symbol of ignorance)—

Männ' det i stoftets mörker sker?

Altho Tegnér is here less optimistic than in his poem *Den Vise*, one cannot infer that his view of life in *Förvillelsen* is pessimistic, inasmuch as it is only a doubt, not a conviction, which he entertains. In this poem, life seems to him dark and sad, and so it inevitably must be for one who is confronted with this doubt as to his soul's destiny.

Mörkt är, hvart helst han ser sig om:
i natt han går, ur natt han kom,
och ingen dag i dödens länder.

But the poet's final question leaves one with the impression that if Tegnér doubted the efficacy of the intellect to lead man to God he did not, however, deny his faith in the spirit or in the religious instinct of man in this regard. In spite of Tegner's spirit of doubt,

it is not without hope and is far different from the philosophy of a true pessimist, such as, for instance, that of *Nietzsche* or *Lenau*, of whom the latter pictured life in almost the same poetic figures⁹ as did Tegnér in the lines just quoted.

We may believe that Tegnér in his poem *Förvillelsen* expressed the depression with which every truly religious spirit is afflicted in the struggle for faith and clarity, that this depression was a part merely of his spiritual development; for his poetry gives, on the whole, overwhelming evidence that he finally did attain to this clarity thru his absolute devotion to the spirit.

The deathless character of the spirit Tegnér emphasizes most strongly again in his *Skaldebref* (1815). Here aesthetic ideals are interpreted in terms of his religious faith. The world of beauty is a part of the world of the spirit and therefore partakes of the nature of the spirit; in fact, beauty is nothing but a certain manifestation of the spirit of the universe, hence the universality and immortality of art.

Kroppen förvittras till luft, men sinnet är evigt det samma.

Death, therefore, can only be a release of the spirit from its earthly bonds. The soul rejoices after its long imprisonment and rises aloft to join the Infinite Spirit of God, as in the elegy to *J. Beckfriis* (1822)—

och anden lade glad ifrån sig stoftets börda

och ur det låga grus flög, som en bön, till Gud.

Here we also see the same contempt for earthly existence which was previously noted, the feeling that earthly life is contaminated and that the only worthy things connected with it are of spiritual origin. This feeling was also shared very strongly by the English poet *Young* and possibly *Young* increased the ascetic propensity upon the part of Tegnér to hold earthly life in contempt in order to glorify the spirit. Thus Tegnér says in the elegy to *Sven Hylander* (1825):

Gläd dig, yngling, i din himmel! Ack, *all jordens glädje är*

Som en hektisk rodnad för minuten

öfver lifvets bleka kinder gjuten:

gläd dig bättre der!

⁹ "Oh, Menschenherz, was ist dein Glück?

Ein rätselhaft geborner,

Und kaum gegrüsst, verlornor,

Unwiederholter Augenblick."

Death is the great awakening, the dawn of real life, as he says in the elegy to *Jacob Faxe* (1827)—

Dock, när den nattliga syn, den kära, blir ute för alltid,
detta är tecknet för er; glädjens, ty *dager är när!*
and in the elegy to *C. G. af Leopold* (1829)—

Hvad bor i mörkret? — "*Du skall bo deri*
(en stämma sade), skenet dig bedrager,
i natten sitt och tänk! *när den är slut, blir dager.*"

So, too, Death releases the scales from our eyes that we may behold the glory of Heaven, as in this same elegy to *Leopold*—

Han (döden) rörde ögat på den blinde siarn,
och fjällen föllo på en gång derifrån.
Hur klart är nu, hur ljust i fadershuset!
Färväl, du ljusets vän, och fröjda dig i ljuset!

The joys of Heaven know no bounds; a picture of these Tegnér gives in his poem addressed to a sorrowing father (*Till en sörjande fader*, 1827)—

Der är honom godt att vara; i en evig morgonvind
lättare hans hjerta klappar, rosigare är hans kind.
En gång faller han med glädje åter till sin faders bröst.—
Ingen högre lära vet jag, känner ingen bättre tröst.

In Heaven too the secret of life shall be made known, as St. Paul said (1 Corinth. XIII, 11) "for now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face," an orthodox sentiment which Tegnér probably cherished, as he says in *Till friherrinnan Martina v. Schverin* (1839)—

och gåtan, som vi fåfängt gissa här,
det tros att ordet dertill finnes der.

Tegnér's orthodoxy, as one should expect, is but faintly detected in his poetry. His avowed hostility to theology¹⁰ and his personal faith in the universal spirit and in the universal significance of religion as a sentiment which no theological dogma could embrace, marked the paradoxical position in which he found himself as Bishop of the Church of Sweden. Like all great thinkers placed in a similar position, he extricated himself in a way by infusing into the traditional theological dogmas the universal significance for which they stood. He was an open enemy of Paul's

¹⁰ "Teologien i sitt förhållande till religionen är en dödskafe stjälp öfver en lilja." "Jag vet icke någon större fiende till religionen än teologien."

theology,¹¹ he regarded the orthodox conception of the Trinity as an impossibility (*quadratura circuli*—a squared circle), the Divinity of Christ irrational, and the Vicarious Atonement he looked upon with horror as “a butcher’s idea which is heathen both in sight of God and reason.”¹² But no open attack upon these tenets of faith was ever launched by the poet; he simply evaded them by emphasizing in his poetry “the thing in itself for which the symbol stood” (cf. especially *Försoningen* in the *Fritthiofssaga*, and *Nattvardsbarnen*). Occasionally he makes reference to an orthodox conception, but even here it may be doubted whether Tegnér shared the sentiment which he expressed. For instance, in the elegy to *Sara Maria Tegman* (1834) he speaks of the Holy Trinity,¹³ which blesses her grave by Its presence. Yet here it is her orthodox fidelity to which he refers, rather than to his own faith in the Trinity. This faith in the Trinity and in Christ was the inspiration of her life and the source of her purity and gentleness of character, hence the poet’s reference to the Trinity at her grave. Tegnér never denied in his poetry his own personal religion.

It is doubtful whether Tegnér believed in the orthodox conception of the Judgment Day. The sentiment which he expressed late in life (*Efter talets slut vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest*, 1843) would seem to refute such a supposition in that he here emphasized character rather than faith as the final standard of judgment to be pronounced upon man. In the *Nattvardsbarnen* he makes reference to the Dooms-day but here again it seems to be for the purpose of infusing into the traditional eschatology the universal law of re-

¹¹ “Pauli lära är grekisk sofistisk inympad på judisk råhet.”

¹² Letter to Geijer, 1821.

¹³ Hvilka syner uppå randen
af din graf, hvad ljud ifrån
menskofadern, Gudomsanden
och din käre Gudason!

Lifvets kärna, hvart vi blicke,
han för alla bilda vill;
ack, för mången fins han icke,—
tror man honom, är han till.

Tro är kärlek, tro är gerning,
hvar det ädla andas fritt,
väsendet—ej form och skärning—
i hvart lif så skönt som ditt.

conciliation and *love*, which shall finally triumph. The heroic grandeur of the Last Day (the *Ragnarök* of Old Norse mythology) must have attracted Tegnér's poetic instinct. In Christian mythology there is connected with this belief the gruesome notion that the body sleeps in the grave until the trumpet sounds and all are gathered together before the Just Judge. In folk-lore this assumed extensive proportions and became not an unimportant element in Romantic poetry, especially in ballad-poetry. Bürger's *Lenore* became one of the most popular ballads in the North. The gruesome effect of the body rising out of the grave to meet its beloved, the crowing of the cock which announces the time when the spectre must return to its dismal abode, were in keeping with the sombre effects of the supernatural in which the Romantic mind took a special delight. Tegnér had read Bürger in his early years (1797) while browsing around in Myrhman's library at Råmen and was, therefore, well acquainted with his poetry. That Tegnér did not wholly escape the atmosphere of Bürger's poetry is evident from his elegies in which this theme of the dead rising from the grave, etc., recurs. Yet it cannot be inferred that this constituted any part of his religious faith, inasmuch as it was merely a thing of art, a poetical, not a religious expression. In the elegy to his brother *Elof Tegnér* (1815) he pictures the three brothers as ghosts haunting the grave, whispering in the moonlight at midnight, bloodless, tearless and cold, while the nightingale sings in the tree-tops. The cock crows and the gruesome spectres return to the grave. Ossian is very evident here, combined with the lurid effects of Bürger; a picture no artist could resist when filled with the spirit of this phase of Romanticism.

Så sitta de, förnöjda, hand i hand;
 på deras bleka anleten ibland
 en stråle faller utur nattens lykta.
 Men deras öga tål ej solens brand;
 när hanen gal, de under jorden flykta.

There can be no doubt but that Tegnér was extremely dejected by the death of his brother whom he deeply loved, and this may have transported him to that mood in which the gruesome and supernatural were peculiarly attractive, even tho he was always sustained by a strong faith in the spirit. In this same poem, he expresses a grief so poignant that it must have necessarily affected the equipoise of his mind. He cannot endure life any longer which seems to him only a house of sorrow—

ty länge kan man dock ej hålla ut
i detta *sorgehus*, som kallas lifvet.

But this was only the expression of that personal grief which overpowers nearly every human soul, until time has healed the wound and lent a better perspective. This great grief may have led the poet to that expression of the awfulness of death which he found in the popular ballad, but it constituted no part of his religious philosophy.

Much later in life (1834) in an elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis* he again pictures the dead sleeping in the grave, issuing forth at night as ghosts and waiting for their loved ones to join them in the grave. Here he also hints at the Judgment Day, when all sorrows shall be turned to joy—

till dess de komma ner, en efter annan,
med brustna ögon, med den bleka pannan,
och samlas alla, *der det är förbi*
med jordens sorger.

Again in 1839 (*Till friherrinnan Martina v. Schwerin*) he refers to the Judgment Day after the long sleep—

men en gång vaknar du med mornad själ,
god morgon då! Till dess sof väl, sof väl!

Yet it must be inferred that Tegnér did not share in this theological dogma, but that under the influence of grief he often gave expression to it in his poetic art. Nor do the gruesome aspects of this conception prove any religious pessimism on his part except as the expression of a personal or transient grief. His poetic temperament caught up the strains of Ossian or Bürger without fundamentally affecting his religious views. Thus he often refers to the grave as the place of reunion after death, even tho he really believed in a spirit life after death and most often expressed this faith in his poetry. Such a contradiction is due to Tegnér's poetic temperament, which found expression now in the physical, now in the spiritual aspect of life, like joy and sorrow which are life's essential elements. In the elegy to his brother he expresses the hope that they may both rest in the same grave, even tho, in the same poem, he says that all mortal things should be despised. Even in his love-songs this dismal strain may often be detected, for instance in *Den lycklige* (1805)—

min själs begär, mitt lif, min tröst,
begrav, begraf mig vid ditt bröst!

*Ack, i den grafven vill jag hvila;
dit låt den lycklige få ila!*

just as he says to his beloved brother,
då hoppas jag
vi få hvila med hvarandra
uti samma graf en dag!

But more often the spiritual vision of the poet sees beyond the mortal dust and emphasizes the brighter hope of immortality. Death cannot really separate two souls who love each other. Thus for instance, in *Till en aflägsen älskarinna* (1804):

Hvad är det mer?
Der bortom grafvens rand
vår sol ju ler
öfver ett bättre land.
Välkommen efter mig, Anna!
Döden löser ej våra band.

Later in life Tegnér joyfully anticipated this spirit-union beyond the grave where many dear ones had gone before him! *Anna Beata Leijonhufvud* (1835)—

Dock samlas en gång, som vi gerne höre,
de många vänner der, som vandrat före,
och därför blicka vi med fromt begär
till himlen opp: *o, den som vore der!*

The spiritual element of Tegnér's religion is the most marked characteristic of his poetry. Even when he is in his most dejected mood, this element is still present. When the crisis of his life had been reached, Tegnér expressed his great disappointment in the celebrated poem *Mjeltsjukan* (1825). This poem has rightly been held as the most intense expression of Tegnér's pessimism. Nature withers and decays as in the autumn, earth's green grows yellow as if the hand of death were laid upon it, the sun and the stars are darkened, when the *svartalf* of melancholia bites into the poet's heart. The poison spreads thru his veins, his heart is frozen, all courage and joy die within him. *Poetry*, which Tegnér really worshipped as the highest expression of life (cf. *Afsked till min lyra*), now becomes a hollow mockery, a mere jugglery of meaningless words. *Man* himself, whose divinity Tegnér repeatedly emphasized (cf. *Fridsröster*), now bears the mark of Cain upon his brow, a liar and contemptible deceiver. Yet in spite of all this, Tegnér has no grievance with *God*, for the poet comforts himself with the

thought that all this suffering is but a test of character, a training in life's school, in which the Father has placed him, and that he will perhaps some day be united with the Eternal Spirit when all is over—

och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,
får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen.

Tegnér, therefore, even when in his most dejected and pessimistic mood, never lost faith in God's wisdom and love. The stoic courage and persistent hope with which the poet faced his calamities mark him as an optimist so far as his faith in the ultimate destiny of man is concerned. Thus Tegnér's spirituality triumphed over the limitations and disappointments of earthly life, which are, as he himself said, only the wise ordinance of Almighty God in order to purify and perfect man's character. As in his poem *Elden* (1812), the future life is but a purification of this life. The soul is then, like asbestos, made by the heavenly flames purer and more beautiful—

och gör honom, som du gör asbesten,
mera skön och ren!

In *Mjeltsjukan* Tegnér expresses a temporary state of melancholia which the tragedy of his life had caused. The cynical view with regard to poetry, for instance, is but an expression of the great disappointment which he suffered in these years. This temporary emotion did not remain a permanent conviction with him, for he not only refuted it by the fact that his poetic activity remained unabated so far as time allowed, but he also directly denied such a view in his poetry itself. Later (1840) in his poem, *Afsked till min lyra*, he looks back upon life in its true perspective; "I really lived only when I sang."

Similarly, the poet's views regarding man in *Mjeltsjukan* are out of all true perspective. Man and woman are here represented as the two great lies in life; the only true thing about them being the mark of Cain upon their brows. Such an abnormally severe judgment was not in keeping with Tegnér's natural benevolence and magnanimity, and, therefore, must necessarily be attributed to the temporary state of melancholia with which he was beset at this time. He often emphasized the divine nature of man (cf. *Försoningen* in the *Frithiofssaga*, *Nattvardsbarnen*, *Fridsröster*, etc.). *Den himmelska lägan*, which in *Fridsröster* Tegnér admonishes man to guard carefully and preserve as the greatest thing in life, repre-

sents the normal view of the religious poet. But in *Mjeltsjukan* the poet, as he himself says, is poisoned. As the poison of melancholia spreads thru his veins his vision becomes distorted and he sees things as the *svartalf*, the black demon of nature, would have him see them. It is quite probable that Tegnér himself was conscious of his distorted and exaggerated view but yielded to the force of mental depression which seems to have almost completely overpowered him. Poetry is like a bath (as *Henrik Ibsen* said in a speech to *Studentersamfundet*, Christiania, 1874), which often serves to restore the equilibrium of the mind by washing away the poisonous or corroding thoughts.

In *Mjeltsjukan*, woman is placed in the same category as man, the fallen son of Cain. Their great delight is in deceiving each other; in fact, deception is the only theme in poetry worthy of them. Here Tegnér's censorious attitude towards woman reminds us very vividly of *Frithiof's* attitude towards *Ingeborg* when he believes her to be faithless—

"O qvinna, qvinna!" nu Frithiof sade.

"Den första tanke, som Loke hade,
det var en lögn, och han sände den
i qvinnoskepnad till jordens män."

We may well believe that Tegnér infused much into his hero which was characteristic of himself. Frithiof, in a moment of despair, pronounces a most distorted and unjust judgment upon his faithful *Ingeborg* and in the intensity of his indignation straightway relegates the whole female sex into the category of the faithless. Yet he soon discovers his mistake and learns to value her true worth. Likewise Tegnér himself pronounces in *Mjeltsjukan* an equally distorted and unjust judgment regarding woman, which both previously and subsequently he often denied. This proves, of course, his lack of true equipoise at this time; his calamities were too great for him to see and judge clearly. As a matter of fact, he had the highest regard for woman, the best proof of which is the character of *Ingeborg* herself, who, as the poet himself says, was to represent his ideal of the Swedish woman. As early as 1808 (*Till damerna*) he gives an idealized picture of woman, whose softer virtues are a necessary complement to man's sterner nature. Here there is no discord but absolute harmony between man and woman. Later in 1835 (*Anna Beata Leijonhufvud*) Tegnér represents human life as actually worthless without woman. Woman is possessed

of the highest virtues, great in her service and in her patience in all things—

O qvinnans värde, tyst och blygt och stilla,
högt i det stora, älskvärdt i det lilla!

Ack, qvinnan, qvinnan blef det högsta gifvet;
hvad vore utan henne menskolifvet?

This high regard for woman was an element which Tegnér prized as one of the redeeming features of the Swedish character, a sense of chivalry (*ridderlighet*) which from time immemorial has marked the Germanic race. His distorted view in *Mjeltsjukan* may easily be forgiven him, when we realize the agony of the hour thru which he passed.

The whole picture which *Mjeltsjukan* presents is the melancholy expression of a sensitive spirit who for the time was overwhelmed with a sense of disaster. Yet thru it all one can clearly see the sustaining light of his religion, which was not darkened even by the most painful misfortunes. This lack of equipoise in the poet, so painfully manifest in *Mjeltsjukan*, finally led to that lamentable condition in which his grand genius suffered a total collapse. But the distorted view which in those moments of dejection he pronounced upon life and man, was only a temporary aberration. His naturally benign and kindly nature finally asserted itself over the disappointments of life. His advanced age witnessed a mellowed spirit that pronounced a gentle and magnanimous judgment upon mankind, whom he had so mercilessly flayed in *Mjeltsjukan*. This was the true Tegnér, the Christian poet, whom moments of mental anguish had actually deranged. Three years before his death he declared (*Efter talets slut vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest*)¹⁴ that the judgment of God is tempered with mercy, for man is judged not by what he actually is or does but by the desire which he cherishes to do right and to live

¹⁴ Den, som föds, skall dö,
och lycklig den, som lemnar kvar ett minne,
om icke af det, som han gjort,
dock af det ädla, som han sökt och velat!

I höghvälfd domsal, uti himmelsblå,
som hänger öfver stjernorna der oppe,
der frågas icke, hvad du gjort och utfört,
ej om du målet nått, men om du sökt det
med redligt mod, med oförtröttad håg;
ty vår är viljan, allt det andra lyckans.

up to his ideals. This is in keeping with Tegnér's belief in the divinity of man and in the universal love of God. Character, not theological dogmas, ideals, not a theological faith, are the criterion of man's worth and the means of his salvation; human weakness must be taken into account by the Just God. The unjust severity of *Mjeltsjukan*, on the other hand, was in direct contrast to this broad spirit of magnanimity, the former an expression of a temporary personal emotion, the latter an unfolding of the spirit which had found its true equipoise. Such a personality which could adjust itself to life (even as Ingeborg adjusted herself to the tragedy that befell her) and which retained its sweetness as well as its strength to the end, was the ideal Swedish character, "et helt menneske" as Brandes called him. The elegy was the strain in tune with his soul, and that seriousness which Tegnér himself recognized in the national character marked both his own individual character and his own poetry. One cannot read his poetry without entertaining the highest regard for and the most intense sympathy with a spirit so lofty, noble and courageous as was Tegnér, nor can we but admire the sustaining character of a religion which carried him thru the storm that eventually wrecked his mind.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

Kansas University.

THE LANGUAGE AND MAIN IDEAS OF ARNE GARBORG'S WORKS

PREFACE

Garborg's literary work presents a double interest: first, the intrinsic value of what he has written, regardless of the language used; and, secondly, his position in the language movement in Norway. That Garborg is the foremost writer of Landsmaal is generally recognized. The movement for a purely national language would admittedly not have attained the position it occupies today, had not Garborg fought for such a language and written his masterpieces in it. I have, therefore, thought it advisable to begin the present study of Garborg with a brief account of his ideas on language reform in Norway, along with an exposition of the types of Landsmaal which he has used at various times.

In the second and longer part of this study I have purposely confined myself to an exposition of his main ideas, and I have tried to present things from his point of view. I have not concerned myself with the many and interesting points of technique which Garborg's works suggest.

Finally, I take this opportunity to thank Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois, for many valuable suggestions offered me while I was writing this thesis and preparing it for the press.

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continuing existence. This is the chief element of his elegies and bespeaks the religious poet, seeking to comfort the world in its sorrow. In 1810, he says in *Till en yngling*—

Bryt blomman, o yngling, i morgon skall den
på grafven strös.

Life is short and physical existence transitory.

Even in the *Frithiofssaga*, old King Ring could not find satisfaction in his earthly life and when death came he welcomed the deliverance. This is, of course, in accord with the Old Norse spirit that *Valhalla* opens to the vision of the warrior an idealized life as a reward for his physical valor, yet it is significant that Tegnér represented King Ring as never having found contentment in his earthly life, a Gothic version of the poet's Christian view of the vanity of life—

Kung Rings död.

Fåfängt bland vilda

blodiga drotter

sökte jag friden, hon flyktade hän.

Nu står den milda

ätthögens dotter

väntande på mig vid gudarnas knän.

In the canto *Försoningen* (written in 1822) the priest of Balder, Tegnér's own spokes-man, says:

Ack! allt det bästa ligger på hinsidan om
grafhögen, Gimle's gröna port, och lågt är allt,
besmittadt allt, som dväljes under stjernorna.

This is the very same sentiment concerning the vanity of earthly life which he previously expressed in the elegy to his brother *Elof Tegnér* in 1815—

Hvad har jag mer att söka här på jorden?
För lågt, för lågt hvar enda dödlig bygger,
som bygger *under stjernorna* ännu.

The same idea that the spirit life is the great reality in which we should live, Tegnér again expressed in the elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis* (1834)—

ty allt hvad lifvet stort och heligt har
från *andeeverlden* kommer till en hvar.

In 1804, Tegnér wrote two poems which are especially significant in this regard, namely *Den vise* and *Förvillelsen*. The former is much more optimistic than the latter, in that in the former

Tegnér emphasizes in a positive fashion the final triumph of the spirit, while in the latter, since he is conscious of the fact that knowledge and the intellect are powerless to penetrate the mystery of the universe, he leaves the question open to doubt; but this doubt, as we shall see, can hardly be termed pessimistic.

In the poem *Den vise*, Tegnér unites the ethical grandeur of Kant and Schiller with the spiritual faith of St. Paul. Man is the play-thing of natural forces, yet thru the spirit and its manifestation in *virtue* he is at the same time the conquering force of the universe. The spirit, therefore, finally triumphs over the flesh, because the spirit is eternal and a part of the Divine Nature.

Till hvad *motsats* är då menskan buren?

Är dess sjungna storhet icke hel?

Der—Guds *afbild*, kronan i naturen,

der—en boll för lyckans *gyckelspel*!

Kom och känn, att stor är *menniskan*,
stor igenom *visheten och dygden*.—

Himlens arfving, glömda dygd! din hamn
bjuder vördnad än ur grafvens famn.

Själén, höjd från grusets region,
ser sin vagga i den *Nögstes tron*.

Allt är rof utaf *förgängligheten*,
tomt står rummet, der naturen var;
menskan blott är än den *samma* kvar,
hennes tanke fyller evigheten.

Uti kaos' natt ej lif, ej ljud,
intet, intet, utom hon och Gud.

In the poem *Förvillelsen*, on the other hand, Tegnér emphasizes solely the fact that the human intellect cannot comprehend the essence of things and therefore fails to bring man any nearer to the real nature of God. "We see the chain⁸ of reason link by link, but when the chain is completed we know not to what it should be fastened", i.e., the Divine nature (which is the essence of things) cannot be apprehended by the finite mind.

Vi se den länk för länk—men hvar
är fästet, hvarvid kedjan hänger?

⁸ Cf. Young.—*Night Thoughts* I—*On Life and Immortality*—
"Distinguish'd link in being's endless chain."

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 borg.)

ARNE GARBORG

PART I.

GARBORG'S LANGUAGE (LANDSMAAL)

Introductory. Garborg ranks not only as a great writer in Norwegian literature but also as one of the most important influences in the Landsmaal-movement in Norway.

In order to make Garborg's work as a language reformer clear, it will be well to review briefly the historical conditions which led to the present situation in Norway with its two literary languages, both employed as literary mediums and both legally recognized.

The old language of Norway attained its highest literary development in Norway and Iceland during the 12th and 13th centuries; as far as Norway is concerned, that language fell into decay during the late Middle Ages.¹ The causes for this were many. The Black Death, which appeared in Bergen in 1349, swept the country, the Hanseatic League controlled the trade centers, the Norwegian peasant nobility—the backbone of Old Norway—was practically destroyed as a political power by the rather absolute Norwegian kings, and finally, Norway became, in 1380, united with Denmark through a union of the two crowns. Danish functionaries began to appear in Norway not long after; little by little Danish became the speech of the cities and the centers of culture. In the year 1450, King Christian I decreed that from that time on Danish should be the official language in Norway. Danish preachers came with the Reformation, and they preached in the Danish language. In the more remote districts Danish did not gain a foot-hold, however; the Old Norwegian maintained itself in the form of peasant dialects that from now on diverged more and more. Such were the conditions from now on for over three hundred years.

In the year 1814, when Norway separated from Denmark, the language of cultured intercourse in Norwegian cities was rather largely Danish, the language of literature entirely so. Danish was used as the language of instruction in the recently established University of Norway.² Church service was everywhere conducted in Danish and newspapers and periodicals were everywhere printed

¹ See Hægstad, *Norsk Maalsoga for skule og heim*. Oslo, 1907. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Halle, 1903.

² Established 1811, opened 1813.

in this language. The real nature of the country dialects as independent modern forms of the old language of Norway was not at that time understood. The dialects were for the most part considered to be mere corruptions of Danish.

But Danish in Norway could naturally not maintain itself as a pure Danish. From about 1830 it begins to undergo considerable change through the more or less conscious effort of writers who wished to give it a national form. The Norwegian poet Henrik Wergeland began to introduce Norwegian words in his poems, mainly to give local color to peasant themes. In 1835 he published an article, *Om norsk Sprogreformation*, in which he set forth the necessity of bringing Danish nearer to the spoken dialects of Norway.³ There was now a growing number of Norwegians who felt that Danish was not in all things the best language for Norway. But nothing like a complete break with Danish seems to have been seriously thought of. Then appeared Ivar Aasen, born 1813, a self-taught peasant from Søndmøre, Western Norway.⁴ He was for a time a country schoolmaster; but little by little he drifted into philological studies. Frederik M. Bugge and others became aware of his rare talents for linguistic investigations, and in the year 1842 he was given a small stipend to enable him to journey from district to district in order to collect dialect material. After six years of this labor appeared Aasen's *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik* and in 1850 he published his *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog*. A little later Aasen set about to construct a sort of norm—a language which was to preserve the common elements in the Norwegian dialects and level out the differences between them. In 1858 *Dølen*, a journal published by A. O. Vinje, began its career. This early first organ of the Landsmaal writers ceased with the death of Vinje in 1870.

From 1858 to the time of Vinje's death the battle between the partisans of Danish and those of the Landsmaal had raged with much bitterness. Then followed a lull. Vinje was dead; Aasen was getting old; no great writer had as yet arisen within the ranks

³ For an excellent discussion of the life, labor, attempted linguistic reforms, as well as the general significance of Wergeland, see H. Koht, *Henrik Wergeland*, Chr., 1908.

⁴ See Arne Garborg, *Ivar Aasen*. Oslo, 1909. Ivar Aasen, *Syn og Segn*, Aug. 1913; *Ivar Aasen*, ved Arne Garborg, Anders Hovden, Halvdan Koht, 1913.

of the reformers. The outlook was not encouraging. At this juncture appeared Arne Garborg (born 1851), the man who was destined to become the first great writer in Landsmaal and through his writings to raise Landsmaal from the position of an experiment to the position of a literary medium recognized everywhere in Norway and widely practiced.⁵

In 1876 Garborg wrote a review of Janson's *Fraa Dansketidi*. This review drew young Garborg into a long and quite bitter controversy in *Aftenposten*. He had for principal opponents Hartvig Lassen, Johan Storm, and L. Daae. This controversy led Garborg to take a definite stand on the language question. He had early tended in the direction of Landsmaal;⁶ now he took the step fully.⁷ I shall now turn to Garborg's work in the cause of language reform in Norway.

Garborg's Place in the Language Movement. We may first consider Garborg's views relative to the language situation in Norway. I shall base my exposition on the following books, pamphlets, and articles by Garborg.

1. *Den ny-norske Sprog- og Nationalitetsbevægelse*. Chr., 1877.
2. *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?* Bergen, 1888.
3. *Vor Sprogudvikling*. Chr., 1897.
4. "Vor nationale situation." *Samtiden*, 1900. Pp. 148-162.
5. *Ivar Aasen*. Chr., 1909.
6. *Vaar nationale Strid*. Christiania, 1911.

In 1877 Garborg published "*Den ny-norske Sprog- og Nationalitetsbevægelse*." It is a book of 240 small pages printed in the form of open letters to the opponents. These letters and arguments grew out of the documentation made necessary by the newspaper controversy which I have referred to above. Garborg's aim is to define the issue, clarify matters by giving adequate definitions, and to answer once for all various questions and objections. The book is the work of a young man. The writer moves about rather jaunt-

⁵ I shall discuss below Garborg's place in this literature.

⁶ For a statement of Garborg's early attitude on Landsmaal, see *Syn og Segn*, XVII, pp. 14-15.

⁷ For a general discussion of the language situation in Norway see my articles in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, Vol. I, pp. 165-178, and *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 60-87.

ily, but, after all, the book is the most complete, brilliant, and readable work that has appeared on the subject of the principles involved in the language situation in Norway. It will be desirable to examine this book somewhat in detail here.

Positive enactments of law can do little to aid the new language or to hamper its onward march. Historical factors will operate in spite of the individual will. Landsmaal is not something which springs from the brain of a few faddists, but rather something which has the onward sweep of historical forces—awakening nationality, the Norwegian will to live—to carry it forward. I quote:

"De kan stole paa mit Ord: jeg agter *ikke* at omvende Dem. Dersom jeg vilde dette, saa maatte det være fordi jeg troede, at Maalsagens Ve og Vel ganske eller dog væsentligt beroede paa *Dem*,—og det er netop det, jeg *ikke* tror. Man diskuterer bestandig Maalsagen, som om den var en blot og bar *Mulighed*, noget, som nok *kunde* sættes i Værk, hvis De og jeg i Dag besluttede, at den skulde sættes i Værk, men som rigtignok ogsaa maa falde, dersom vi fatter den modsatte Beslutning. Dette beror paa et radikalt Feilsyn. Sprog- og Nationalitetsreisningen er en Sag, som netop ikke længer beror paa Deres og mit For-godtbefindende. Den er et *historisk Fænomen*, indtraadt i Livet i Kraft af bestemte *historiske Forudsætninger*."⁸

And I may quote the following lines touching Garborg's views of language in relation to national feeling and the will to live:

"*Dersom* der er en 'norsk Nationalitet,' mhhh!—saa vil dette simpelt hen *aabenbare sig* deri, at den objektiverer sig i en selvstændig Form. Gjør den *ikke* dette, saa existerer den *ikke*—som *Nationalitet* nemlig."⁹

Garborg then takes up for treatment the idea that the two languages, Landsmaal—or the Norwegian dialects looked upon as ^s unity—and Danish, are gradually to be made more and more alike and finally to merge into one. He deals here with the famous *glide-theory*, which has been much in vogue among the opponents of Landsmaal and has found acceptance even among some of the partisans of the latter language. The glide-theory holds that by almost insensible gradations Danish will merge with Norwegian by taking up Norwegian words and constructions through the influence of the Norwegian milieu. This view does not meet with much favor on the part of Garborg. He asks: assuming that we begin by making Danish our basis for ulterior linguistic growth, how are we to get a *Norwegian* language? Assuming the answer

⁸ *Den ny-norske*, etc., p. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

to be—as indeed it has been—: ‘by taking up Norwegian words and idiomatic expressions,’ Garborg says:

“For at kune blive helt og virkeligt optagne, maa nemlig de ‘norske Gloser i Regelen først skifte Ham, i.e., bøje sig ind under det danske Sprogidiom, de danske Sproglove. Hvad vil saa Resultatet være?—Det vil være—ikke Danskens Fornorskelse, men netop *Danskens egen Udvikling qua Dansk*.”¹⁰

The real criterion of the independence of a language is its individuality, its power to mould into its own form the foreign materials that it uses:

“Sproget bliver med et Ord—lad os gjentage det—en *Organisme*. Organismen er ikke=sit materielle Stof, tvertimod, Stoffet er blot Organismens *Middel*; den skifter stadig Stof og er dog altid sig selv, i.e., den samme levende, samvirkende Complex af Love, den samme ustanseligt pulserende *Virksomhed*, ved hvilken den netop opretholder sig.”¹¹

Thereupon Garborg considers the language of the cities and its fitness to be the basis of a national language for Norway. He holds that the speech of the cities is not sufficiently independent, that it represents more or less a transitional stage. It cannot be made the basis of a new language as it, in its different forms, is either a very hybrid form of Norwegian or is provincial Danish.¹²

In regard to *Norwegian literature* Garborg holds that the mere subject matter of the literary work and the birth-place of the writer are not sufficient to establish the nationality of the art product in question. A Norwegian theme can be treated by a Frenchman in French, for instance; likewise writers born in Norway may treat Norwegian themes in the Danish language; the result is not Norwegian literature. Steen Steensen Blicher wrote about Jutland; B. Bjørnson, about Norway. Bjørnson is Norwegian in the sense that Blicher is Jutish. In both cases some dialect words and native forms are used to give local color. How shall we then understand “Norwegian literature?”

“Kort og godt og i al Almindelighed: Dersom man ved ‘Norsk’ forstaar noget *Nationalt*, sideordnet med f. Ex. Dansk og Engelsk, saa er vor Literatur *ikke* norsk. Men dersom man ved ‘Norsk’ forstaar noget *provincielt*, sideordnet med f. Ex. Jydsk og Skotsk (Walter Scott),—saa er vor Literatur norsk. Noget mere bestemt Svar ved ikke jeg at give.”¹³

¹⁰ *Den ny-norske*, etc., p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹² “Gaar man ud fra Dansken, saa vil man ogsaa blive siddende i Dansken, . . .” p. 50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

There is, he says, too great a waste of time on the part of many a Norwegian in an effort to translate himself into Danish. To have to do so is a hardship, and one which falls especially heavily upon the peasants and those who have least time and qualifications for doing it successfully.¹⁴

The adoption of Landsmaal as the language of Norway would not, Garborg holds, be a backward step in civilization and culture. To go back to an older form of the language, which a part of the nation has lost through foreign influence, is not necessarily retrogression. A written language must be created by the fact that someone begins to use it in writing. It must be developed by use. It cannot be found ready made. Garborg shows that similar struggles have taken place, or are going on now, in Finland, Belgium, Hungary, Greece, and elsewhere.¹⁵

The series of letters which I have quoted from above appeared in print in 1877. Aasen's Landsmaal—Aasen's norm—was well developed and well known by this time, yet Garborg, while as a matter of fact he follows Aasen's norm rather closely in his first books, departs in theory from Aasen's standard form, or does not attach much value to any literal interpretation of it. On page 76 of the work in question he speaks about the vocalic nature of the endings in the Norwegian dialects; then in a footnote he remarks that Aasen has restored certain consonants by reason of their presence in classical Old Norse:

"For det skrevne Sprog har dog Ivar Aasen her fra Oldsproget indsat Konsonanterne, da han har anseet dem som nødvendige for et Skriftsprog. Nogen Indflydelse paa Udtalen skulde dette naturligvis ikke have. Nyere Maalmænd han imidlertid—paa Grundlag af det mere moderne fonetiske Princip—bortkastet disse 'døde' Endelser. Det er en Selvfølge, at Striden mellem de to Principer for Sprogets Orthografi maa være særdeles levende her, hvor det netop gjælder Fundamenteringen."¹⁶

In regard to the problem as to what form of Landsmaal is to be used in the schools Garborg says that there are several ways in which one may solve that problem. One may normalize the dialects of two or three main districts or else choose a norm, and this norm ought then without a doubt to be that of Aasen. Aasen's

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁵ In this connection see Garborg, *Bondestudentar*, which throws light upon this very subject.

¹⁶ See pages 145-186 of *Den ny-norske*, etc.

norm may well be used if the teachers remember the correct practice, which is to let the pupil read his own dialect out of the letters and not mechanically pronounce every letter. And the essential matter is that the local dialect (bygdemaal) be used in oral instruction.¹⁷

The essential things in this series of letters by Garborg may be summarized as follows:

1. The language struggle comes by historical necessity as an expression of the Norwegian will to live. It is intimately connected with Norwegian nationality; and if Norway possesses a latent or partly realized nationality, the separate language will be one of the chief tests of this same nationality; for "la langue est la nation."

2. A Norwegian language cannot be evolved by "improving" Danish, by adopting Norwegian words and phrases to the extent permitted by Danish language feeling; for the Danish formative power will assert itself and mould and modify the Norwegian elements until they are in harmony with Danish. Danish, therefore, cannot furnish a receptacle into which the Norwegian dialects may pour their riches freely.

3. It will not be a backward step to elevate the popular spoken language to the rank of a written language. The plan is not to suppress Danish at once, but to develop by use the native Norwegian language until it shall be fit to take over the functions of Danish.

4. Garborg does not seem to be fully clear as to what is meant by "Norwegian language." Does it mean the great multiplicity of dialects, the common elements in these, or a normalized form like Aasen's Landsmaal? On the whole Garborg has too little respect for the norm, and has in germ, or fully developed, all the "principles" which have allowed him the astonishing language fluctuations which I shall point out farther on.

5. There is much toil and a great waste of energy encountered in being, so to speak, translated from Norwegian into Danish. Yet this is the task that is put upon every peasant child in Norway. It is not a burden for the city people, to whom Danish has to all intents and purposes become the mother tongue.

6. Garborg merely touches upon the idea of the "two races" in

¹⁷ *Den ny-norske*, etc., p. 76.

Norway—Norwegian peasants and parts of the city population on the one hand and descendants of Danish, German, Scotch, and Dutch immigrants on the other, who often belong to the upper classes and for whom Danish is as much "Norwegian" as any dialect of native Norwegian origin. This latter class seems to say: "Danish is Norwegian because *we* use it, for *we* are the real Norwegians." Garborg develops this idea more fully later.

The next work by Garborg which I shall consider is one bearing the name: *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?*, and which appeared in Bergen in the year 1888. It is a series of answers to attacks on Landsmaal by B. Bjørnson. Here Garborg emphasizes again the difficulties of the task the Norwegian peasant has who tries to become so proficient in Danish that he may speak it with clearness and ease.

Already we find that Garborg puts greater emphasis upon the *bygdemaal*, the local peasant dialects. On page seven we find this statement: "Bygdemaal in the school! that is the language reform (maalsagen) I desire."

In answer to the charge by Bjørnson that Landsmaal is not needed, Garborg says:

"Men det er i Utrængsmaal! siger Bjørnson, og saa nævner han mig som Exempel. Jeg er 'Bevægelsens første Mand,' og endda skriver jeg Dansk bedre end Norsk; have vi mere Vidnesbyrd behov?"

"Jeg begynder at bli kjed af den Kompliment nu. Allerede Hartvig Lassen sa den Ting, da jeg for ti Aar siden begyndte at skrive om Maalet i 'Aften-bladet,' og siden siger de det bestandig, naar de skal sige noget slaaende.

"De kunde vel engang begribe, at naar et ikke ganske ubegavet Menneske arbejder energisk i tyve Aar paa at lære et Sprog, saa maa han vel til syvende og sidst kunne det ogsaa. Landsmaalet derimod—jeg har ikke havt en Times Undervisning i at skrive det; det var noget, jeg simpelthen tog mig til, da jeg var 27 Aar; dertil kommer, at Landsmaalet jo i sig selv ikke har den Udvikling endnu som Dansken. Naar jeg saa tiltrods for alt dette har kunnet bruge Landsmaalet til Forfatterskab i alle mulige Kulturemner—Politik, Religion, Æsthetik; og naar jeg ovenikjøbet i dette samme Maal har leveret skjønliterære Arbejder, der staar paa Højde med, og er fuldt saa moderne som det meste af det, der skrives paa Danskorsk,—saa synes jeg, man deraf burde drage den Slutning, at altsaa kan Landsmaalet bruges til Kulturmaal. Men del finder de ikke paa! Den eneste mulige Slutning,—den drager de aldrig."¹⁸

We remember that Landsmaal—Aasen's norm particularly—had been made light of on all sides, that it was called a one-man paper

¹⁸ *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?* p. 12-13.

language, a language nowhere spoken, a language too heavy and archaic for present use. Garborg, too, seems at this time to have been somewhat shaken in his faith in Aasen's form of Landsmaal. In fact he abandoned the Aasen norm about this time and turned to a decidedly more East Norwegian language. On page twenty-four of *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?* we find the following significant words:

"Det afgjørende Kjendetegn paa gammelt eller fremskredet i sproglig Henseende er *Endelserne*; jo flere Endelser, jo ældre. Men i den Henseende er Norskene, som vi har set, mere fremskreden end Dansk og Svensk; selv i Aasens Form, der ellers paa Grund af en romantisk Misforstaaelse har søgt at overdække og bortdølge vort Folkemaals Modernitet, hvorfor ogsaa Udviklingen gaar i Retning af at fjerne alt det kunstige Gammelvæsen,—selv i Aasens Form er Norskene vel saa moderne som Dansk og Svensk. Jo mere Landsmaalet faar Mod til at kaste de gamle, gilde Greier, det blev overklædt med i en Tid, da man trodde det gjaldt at reise 'Fædrenes Maal' istedetfor at reise et praktisk, hjemligt Sprog for vore Børn,—des mere uimodsigelig vil det vise sig, at af de tre skandinaviske Sprog er Norskene med samt sine Medlyd og Tvæld det ubetinget moderneste."¹⁹

In *Vor Sprogudvikling*, Chr., 1897, we find among other things the statement that: Landsmaal is an attempt to find a common written form for our dialects (en fælles skrivemaade). It is the dialects and not so much Aasen's form that one must rely on, for one cannot fail to admit that the dialects "exist." The use of the norm—Aasen's or any other—is not as a final language to be forced upon the people but as a means to bring the dialects and their wealth before the nation. Its function is to show the people constantly what is really and essentially Norwegian. If now we ask: what is the *right* form of Landsmaal? Garborg answers in "Vaar nationale Strid," page 24, as follows: "Landsmaal is the form in which every peasant dialect recognizes its own essential elements."

We have seen that Garborg holds principles which abundantly allow for language variations and fluctuations. I shall now attempt to outline the various types that were the result of this attitude.

Types of Garborg's Landsmaal. I shall set up the following tests for determining the types of Landsmaal used at various times by Garborg.

1. (a) The ending of the strong fem. sing. def. and the neut. pl. def. of nouns.

¹⁹ *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?* p. 24.

- (b) The treatment of weak feminine nouns.
2. The ending of the infinitive.
3. The omission or retention of *t* in certain neuter forms other than nouns; the omission or retention of *t* in the def. sing. of neuter nouns.
4. The omission or retention of the *r* of the plural of nouns when the pl. def. article is added.
5. Greater or less prevalence of *i*-forms in verbs, etc.
6. Certain verbal forms (*kasta* for *kastade* or *kastad*, for instance).

Type A. This form of Landsmaal is Garborg's first and his nearest approach to Aasen's norm. The only notable differences are that Garborg, unlike Aasen, uses no plural forms of the verb and does not use the dative in any living function. Type A has, in order of the tests set up, the following appearance:²⁰

1. (a) The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of nouns is *i*.

Fem. sing. def. *bygdi*

Neut. pl. def. *ordi*

- (b) The weak feminine nouns are treated as follows:

Weak fem. sing. indef. *tyngsla*

" " pl. def. *pipa*

" " " indef. *fillur*

" " " def. *gjenturne*

As we see, this class of nouns has the ending *a* for both forms of the singular, and the vowel of the plural is *u*. This agrees with Aasen's form except that Aasen wrote *fillor* and *gjentorne*, that is, *o* for *u* in the two forms of the plural.

2. The ending of the infinitive is *a*, except in such verbs as *sþy*, *sjaa*, etc.

arbeida—later *arbeide*

vera — " *vera*

skriva — " *skrive*

3. The *t* of the neuter is kept, in harmony with Aasen's form.

nokot—later *noko*

voret — " *vori*

diktat— " *dikta*

arbeidet (noun)—later *arbeide*

²⁰ The examples which I use are such as occur, so to speak, on every page throughout the works which belong to this type, hence I have not considered it necessary to indicate the place of occurrence.

4. The *r* of the plural is kept when the pl. def. article is added.

gjenturne
taksteinarne

5. The *e*-forms are used.

voret — later *vori*
fenget — “ *fengi*
gjenget — “ *gjengi*
frukter — “ *fruktir*
jolegjester — later *jolegjestir*
komen — “ *komin*

6. In this early period Garborg uses such verbal forms as:

talad for later *tala*
vaagad “ “ *vaaga*
sopad “ “ *sopa*
diktat “ “ *dikta*

that is, in the later form he has come nearer to the living dialects of Norway.

The following major works²¹ may be included under type A. *Ein Fritenkjar*, written 1878, appeared in book-form, Chr., 1881; *Bondestudentar*, appeared in book-form, Bergen, 1883; *Forteljingar og Sogur*, Chr., 1884; *Mannfolk*, Bergen, 1886.

In *Mannfolk* we find a slight difference of language from type A, but this is not sufficient to require a separate classification. The weak feminines, which had in type A the following scheme:

Sing. indef. -a
“ def. -a
Pl. indef. -ur
“ def. -urne

now have:

Sing. indef. -e
“ def. -a
Pl. indef. -ur
“ def. -urne

In this matter Garborg has moved nearer to the dialects of Eastern Norway.

The following selections will illustrate type A and the same normalized to the present form of Garborg's *Landsmaal* (type C).

“Han fylgde Haugum og Jens Rud til Kafe nasjonal, Dagen maatte ‘merk-

²¹ Under “minor works” I include magazine and newspaper articles.

jast.' Ein heil Flokk hadde samlat seg i Kafeen, og dei heldt Fest med Talar og Øl. Det var det ideale Studenterliv, som byrjad i Dag, tenkte Daniel; og der vart Idealitet nok, Festtale-Idealitet i Foss og Flaum. Dei gamle talad for dei unge og dei unge for dei gamle, Bystudenten Møller talad for Bondestudentarne og Hans Haugum for Bystudentarne,—det vil segja for dei Bystudentarne, som hadde Frisyn og Vidsyn nok til at slaa Lag med Bonden; dertil svarad Bystudenten Møller med ein stor Tale for Bondefolket. Bonden var Fortidi og Bonden var Framtidi; Bonden sat inne med Fedra-Arven, og Bonden sat inne med Framgangstankarne; Bonden var Krafti, Bonden var Mergen, Bonden aatte Landet, og Bonden vilde bera det fram.²²

"Han fylgde Haugum til Kafe National; dei vilde 'mærke Dagen.' Ein heil Flokk hadde samla seg i Kaffistogo; der vart det Gilde med Talur og Øl; det ideale Studenterliv byrja no, tenkte Daniel. Og det vart Festtale-Idealitet i Foss og i Flaum. Dei gamle tala for dei unge og dei unge for dei gamle; ein Bystudent tala for Bondestudentane og ein Bondestudent for Bystudentane, det vil segja for dei Bystudentane som hadde Frisyn og Vidsyn nok til at slaa Lag med Bonden; dertil svara Bystudenten med ein Tale for Bondefolke; Bonden var Fortidi og Bonden var Framtidi; Bonden sat inne med Fedra-Arven, og Bonden sat inne med Framgangstankane; Bonden aatte Lande og Bonden vilde bera det fram."²³

Type B. The next major work which shows differences from Aasen's form—radical differences this time—is *Kolbotnbrev og andre Skildringar*, Bergen, 1890.

1. (a) The ending of the strong fem. sing. def. and the neut. pl. def. of nouns is *a*.

Fem. sing. def. *likferda*
Neut. pl. def. *smaafolka*

(b)

Weak fem. sing. indef. *glede*
" " " def. *sida*
" " pl. indef. *gjentur*
" " " def. *gjeturne*

2. The ending of the infinitive is here the same as in type A.

3. The *t* of the forms included in this test has been dropped.

noko for earlier *nokot*
lande " " *landet*

This change affects the vast majority of neuter nouns.

4. The *r* is retained in the pl. def. as in the preceding type.

timarne
gjeturne
vegjerne

²² *Bondestudentar*, Chr., 1885, 2nd ed. p. 160.

²³ *Skrifter i Samling*, Chr., 1908. Vol. I, page 105.

5. The *e*-forms are used as in the preceding type.

aksler for later *akslir*
gjete " " *giæti*

6. Forms like *kastad*, *ventad*, *eggjat* have now become *kasta*, *venta*, *eggja*. These latter forms are henceforth permanent with Garborg and represent the pronunciation in most of the Norwegian dialects.

One may include under type B the following works: *Kolbotnbrev* og *andre Skildringar*, Bergen, 1890; *Hjaa ho Mor*, Bergen, 1890; *Fred*, Bergen, 1892.

The following selection from *Fred* will serve as an example of type B.

"Her og der uppetter Bakkar og Res kryp laage Hus ihop i Smaakrullar som søkjande Livd. I den tette Lufta hildrar dei seg halvt burt, sveiper seg i Torvrøyk og Havdis som i ein Draum; stengde og stille ligg dei burtetter Viderne som Tusseheimar. Rundt Husa skimtar det fram bleike grøne Flekkjer av Aaker og Eng som Øyar i Lyngvidda; kvar Bite og kvar Lepp er avstengd og innlodd med Steingjerde som lange Røysir.

"I desse Heimarne bur Folke.

"Det er eit sterkt, tungt Folk, som grev seg gjennom Live med Grubling og Slit, putlar med Jorda og granskar i Skrifta, piner Konn av Aur'en og Von av sine Draumar, trur paa Skillingen og trøyster seg til Gud."²⁴

I now give the same selection from Garborg's complete works, where the language has been normalized to Garborg's present form of Landsmaal.

"Her og der uppetter Bakkar og Res kryp laage Hus ihop i Smaakrullar som søkjande Livd. I den tette Lufti hildrar dei seg halvt burt, sveiper seg i Torvrøyk og Havdis som i ein Draum; stengde og stille ligg dei burtetter Vid-dine som Tusseheimar. Rundt Husi skimtar det fram bleike grøne Flekkir av Aaker og Eng som Øyar i Lyngviddi; kvar Bite og kvar Lepp er avstengd og innlodd med Steingjerde som lange Røysir.

"I desse Heimane bur Folke.

"Det er eit sterkt, tungt Folk, som grev seg gjennom Live med Gruvling og Slit, putlar med Jordi og granskar Skrifti, piner Korn av Aur'en og Von av sine Draumar, trur paa Skillingen og trøyster seg til Gud."²⁵

In *Haugtussa*, Chr., 1895, Garborg returns to a form somewhat like that in type A. The strong feminine nouns and the neuter plural end in *i* in the definite form. The weak feminines have *-e*, *-a*, *-ur*, *-urne*. The infinitive ends in *a*. The *t* of the neuter sing. def. is not used. The *r* of the plural is retained when the def.

²⁴ *Fred*, p. 6.

²⁵ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. IV, p. 4.

article is added. The *e*-forms still prevail (*veggjer, gonger*, etc.). The verbs in the past tense are as in type B. *Læraren*, Chr. 1896, has the same form of language as *Haugtussa*.

The next book, *I Helheim*, Chr., 1901, represents a close approach to Garborg's present form of Landsmaal. The differences between the language in this book and the two immediately preceding are: The *r* of the plural is dropped when the def. art. is added. (*Heimane* for *heimarne*; *gravine* for *graverne*). The *i*-forms are beginning to predominate. (*Ferdine, gravine, yvi*.)

We shall now turn to the third main type of Garborg's Landsmaal, which I shall designate as type C. This form of Landsmaal is called the Midland form, because it is based on the dialects of the Midland districts of Norway. It has in brief the following appearance:

1. The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of nouns is *i*. The weak fem. nouns have *-e, -ur, -a, -une*.
2. The ending of the infinitive is *a* after short root-syllables and *e* after long root-syllables (*vera*, but *vinne*).
3. The *t* is omitted in certain neuter forms and in the def. sing. of neuter nouns.
4. The *r* of the plural is regularly omitted when the def. art. is added.
5. The *i*-forms prevail (nouns that would have *-er* in the plural now have *-ir*).

Under this type may be included: *Fjell-Luft*, Chr., 1903; *Knudahei-brev*, Chr., 1904; *Jesus Messias*, Chr., 1906; *Den burtkomne Messias*, Chr., 1907; *Heimkomin son*, Chr., 1908; *Skrifter i Samling*, 7 vols., Chr., 1908; *Kyrkja og Borgarsamfunde*, *Samtiden* 1911, pp. 8-21.

In *Knudahei-brev* we find some forms which are taken from Garborg's own dialect (Jærbu). These are used merely for local color. Examples are: *I Knudaheio, fjedlo* for *fjelli, huso* for *husi, heia-gjædar*. Here we find the characteristic *o*-ending, used in Western Norway for fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. Of late years Garborg evinces now and then a fondness for the dative plural; it occurs, however, only sporadically.²⁶

I shall close this discussion of Garborg's use of Landsmaal by quoting part of a letter which Garborg sent me in answer to my

²⁶ For examples of type C the reader is referred to the normalized form of selections given to illustrate types A and B.

inquiries as to his reasons for these successive changes in his language.

HVALSTAD, NORIG, 17/2. '14.

Eg hev aa takke, (1) for Brev, (2) for eit Stykke i "Publications,"²⁷ "On the Forms of the 'Landsmaal' in Norway." I det Stykke (S. 174) hev De sett fram mitt Grunnsyn i Spursmaale um Skriftformi so godt, at eg no berre hev att aa forklaare, korleis eg er komen innpaa den Synsmaaten.

Aasens Form var min fyrste Kjærleik. Men eg lærde snart aa forstaa, at for Folke var ho "altfor klassisk"; skulde Folke koma med, maatte me faa ein lettare, enklare Skrivemaate. Det var "dei unge" i 1860-aari (Menner som S. Schjøtt, O. J. Fjørtoft o.a.) som lærde meg aa sjaa dette; etterkvart kom eg og meir og meir inn paa Schjøtts Tanke: at det var Folkevisemaale som var det naturlege Grunnlage for eit nynorskt Bokmaal.

Men daa eg (Hausten 1877) tok til med "Fedraheimen," galdt det aa faa samla den vesle norske Fylkingen, me daa hadde; og det let seg best gjera gjenom Aasensformi (i ei noko lettare Tillempling); den vart daa Redaktionsform. Men Innsendarane fekk bruka kvar si Form, naar dei so vilde; paa den maaten fekk eg og døyvt med *Striden* um Skrivemaaten.

Det var elles ikkje mange som skreiv. Og mest ingen fraa Sørland, Midland, Austland, Trøndelag, der Blade og hadde minst Tingarar. Dette driv meg til aa tenkje meir paa Maalformi, og til aa vaage ei og onnur Tillempling (som ei Vise). Noko seinare gjekk eg med paa Sola, Orda (um eg elles snart fann, at den Endingi ikkje rett vilde høva i mitt Maal). Og daa eg i 1899 kom med i ei departmental Nemnd til Fastsetjing av ei Landsmaalsform aat Skulen, saag eg altfor klaart, at det var for tidlegt aa setja upp berre ei Form; eg gjekk daa med paa ei Sideform til Bruk for Bygdir som ikkje lika den vanlege Landsmaalsformi; og den vart daa bygd paa Tele- (og i det heile Midlands-) dialektar; eg tenkte og, at eit Midlandsmaal maatte vera den lempelegaste Vegen til Semjing millom Austland og Vestland, etterkvart som det Spursmaale kom upp.

Sidan tok eg sjølv Midlandsformi i Bruk. Ho var for det fyrste bygd paa Folkevisemaale, og for det andre kunde det vera godt, at nettupp ein Vestlending tok Midlandsmaale upp; det burde kunne døyve noko paa det gamle gnaal um, at Maalsaki var berre ei Vestlandssak.

Den Midlandsformi som var uppsett til Skulebruk, fekk ikkje mange Forfattarar med seg (og hev no ingen; eg sjølv finn det best no aa halde meg til ei Millomform, som berre nettupp skal vise, at eg ikkje held Formspursmaale for avgjort). Men endaa hev det gjort godt, at Sideformi vart uppsett; Folk veit no, at dei ikkje tarv ræddast for "Tvang." Dermed vert *Striden* rolegare. Ein gjeng ut fraa, at etterkvart vil dei Formerne vinne som fær Fleirtale med seg; det gjeld daa mindre um aa slaast enn um aa skrive godt og norskt. Det vert daa og klarare og klarare, at me hev Fiendar nok, um me ikkje fører Krig innbyrdes.

Med Helsing,

ARNE GARBORG.

²⁷ *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*. Vol. I, pp. 165-178.

Part II

AN EXAMINATION OF GARBORG'S LITERARY WORKS

I. Garborg's Early Life

Garborg is the son of a West Norwegian farmer. He is a *Jærbu*²⁸ and of peasant stock as far back as the family can be traced.²⁸ He was born on the 25th of January, 1851. He entered school quite early, and was an excellent student. Here he soon showed his passion for writing; he wrote not only the compositions required, but invented themes and subjects to the astonishment of the teachers and his fellow-students.²⁹ He early became a "journalist,"—that is, as a boy of twelve or thirteen he began to work on a hand-written paper, which circulated among the students. Here he gave free reins to his imagination and wrote on all possible and imaginable subjects.

He did not like the never-ending manual labor at home—stole an hour whenever possible to devour whatever books he could lay his hands on. In these early years his life was not happy. In *Knudahei-brev*, p. 128, we are told that "den paulinsk-luthersk-pontoppidanske kristendomen hans far sprengde meir og meir huse."³⁰ No music, no play, no amusements; work, pray, prepare for the life to come—such was the program of the home he lived in. He used to steal out into the next room, and in the cold of winter read till his eyes ached. But he had to have the book lying open inside a large chest, so that the lid could be promptly closed when he heard his father coming. He managed to smuggle in books, and soon had an astounding knowledge of Norwegian and foreign authors. In the little hand-written paper mentioned above, which he exchanged with boys of his own age or older, he wrote book reviews, treated social problems, reforms, in short anything that presented itself.

Garborg began to teach school in 1867. This work gave him

²⁸ See *Knudahei-brev*, Chr., 1904, p. 99.

²⁹ Torkell Mauland, "Arne Garborg's ætt og ungdom." *Syn og Segn*, XVII, p. 8.

³⁰ See *Knudahei-brev*, pp. 127-28, and p. 178.

more leisure for study. He still continued to write for the little paper, showing somewhat of an Ibsen influence. From 1868 to 1870 he studied in the Normal School at Holt. He wrote a long five-act drama called *Syner i Skodd*.³¹ This was never printed, and Garborg now has nothing left of the manuscript. Garborg says with reference to it that he can't say much as to the "Visions" but he feels sure that it contained "Fog" enough. In 1870 Garborg became a teacher in the vicinity of Risør. He began in 1871 to publish a paper called *Seminaristen*. A little later he changed the name to *Lærerstandens Avis*. Garborg managed the paper, wrote most of the contents, and even aided in the printing. In 1872 he founded a new paper, *Tvedestrandsposten*. He was engaged in various ventures of this kind till in 1873 he left for Christiania. He was given an opportunity to contribute to *Dagbladet* and *Bergensposten*; he also continued to send articles to *Tvedestrandsposten*.

The first thing which called general attention to Garborg was a seventy-one page analysis of Ibsen's *Keiser og Galilæer*. This little book was received with favor everywhere, and indeed, the book is very good for a young man of twenty-three to have produced.

In 1874 he entered the famous "Studentfabrik," that is to say, Heltberg's preparatory school at Christiania. He has given us a memorable picture of this school and its genial teacher, old Heltberg, in *Bondestudentar*.

Garborg was admitted to the University in 1875. He did not take the second examination as he had too many other things on his hands. In 1876 he wrote a review of Kristoffer Janson's *Fraa Dansketid*³² which brought him into a prolonged controversy with such men as K. Knudsen, Hartvig Lassen, Ludvig Daae, Johan Storm, in short, with some of the most ardent defenders of Dano-Norwegian or what is now *Riksmaal*. In 1876 he was chosen president of *Det norske Samlaget*. He began publishing *Fedraheimen* in 1877, which paper now became the organ of the language reformers. Since this time Garborg has been a leader and an inspiring influence in the Landsmaal movement.

Much direct testimony by Garborg himself relative to his life

³¹ "Visions through the Fog."

³² The book is in Landsmaal.

and experiences during these early years may be found in *Knudaheibrev*; for indirect testimony, see *Bondestudentar* and *Fred*.³³

II. *Study of Garborg's Literary Works in Relation to the Religious and Cultural Environment*

1. There are two kinds of calm—the calm which precedes and the calm which follows the storm. The first is that of childhood; of innocent, more or less thoughtless functioning; and that of the less gifted, who live to ripe old age without serious questioning. The period of maturity in the life of the more gifted is one of storm and stress, of making a place in the world for one's life and ideas, of violent crises, of seeking to maintain and vindicate human dignity and the values of life. This is the critical period. One of three things may then happen: One may sink back into the lower, more vegetative type of life; one may go to rack and ruin in a general shipwreck of ideals and values; or one may fight one's way through to where there is a larger outlook and a more detached attitude. Garborg belongs to those gifted ones who have passed through the storm and stress. He is now in a rather serene mood of clarified views and calm acceptance of the inevitable.

Garborg presents many phases of development through the years, but there are through all the changes certain easily recognizable elements of identity. As to his character we always find absolute probity, grim earnestness, unquestioned sincerity; as to his intellect, great mobility, large mental outlook, universality of interest and catholicity of appreciation. Religious preoccupations, due to natural bent and early training, pervade all of Garborg's literary work. The large aim and purpose of his life early became to work for the cultural maturity and independence of Norway.

Garborg's style is admirable,—at all times the appropriate word. He has keen flashes of insight given expression in powerful language. He ranges from passages of the most tender lyric beauty to cool, logical exposition, or to statements of the most cutting satire. His books are flooded with ideas; some of his works are not favorite reading with those who seek in literature amusement merely and not enlarging views and emancipating criticism.

³³ For a general account of his life up to 1911, see *Syn og Segn*, Jan. 1911, pp. 1-22; 75-81. Dates of publication of his books and other valuable information will be found in *Syn og Segn*, Jan. 1911, pp. 89-92.

Garborg is one of those writers whose works embody the very age itself. When the Norway of Garborg's day shall have passed away, future students of religion, history, morals, and politics, will find in his works most precious documents. This is admitted by all, even by those critics who at times are inclined to think that Garborg's books lack that plot-interest which is necessary to enable them to occupy a large place in the favor of the general reading public.

Garborg is one of those persons for whom mere living is not life. He is of the same mould as Ibsen, Thomas à Kempis, Nietzsche, Tolstoy. His longing for absolute and permanent worth gives rise to much of his criticism. He is a deeply religious nature, but the spirit of scientific positivism, Higher Criticism, his own mercilessly critical faculty, and the clearness of his thought-processes, make it impossible for him to rest sweetly content in the religion of his childhood. Truth, sincerity, facts, free discussion, these he demands always. What such a life as his may hold of suffering, turmoil, and disillusion can scarcely be understood by one who has not passed through similar stages of development. Garborg is a puzzle to many Norwegians. He is called "free-thinker"—and what horror that name contains in Norway can only be appreciated by one who comes from the same part of Norway as Garborg—and yet Garborg has written things in the deepest and most sincere religious spirit. He knows the Bible well-nigh better than any theologian. He quotes the Bible or uses everywhere phrases cast in a Biblical mould. This is not a mannerism with Garborg, not a mere imitation of Biblical style for flowery rhetorical effects, but a spontaneous, at times unconscious, use of Biblical imagery and diction. This same use of the Scriptures occurs to a lesser extent in some other Norwegian writers. We shall speak of the reasons for this later.

The Norwegian literature of the second half of the XIXth century is a literature of combat, self-examination, hope, despair, and clashes of antagonistic systems. This literature was not content to paint life in a placid, sunny manner. The *why* and the *wherefore* of things is the ever present question. Is life worth living? Is religion a harmful thing or a blessing? Is there a place of safety, where we may store up the values which we create in life? Should

life be taken as a complete system, an entity in and for itself, a rounded-out whole? Or should it properly be looked upon as valuable only in so far as it leads to and prepares for something else? The above questions are such as we constantly meet with in Norwegian writers. Add to this that two official languages—neither of them uniformly written—are struggling for mastery in the land, and one has a fairly exact and complete statement of the elements which work against placidity in the literature of Norway. Norwegian writers are to a great extent treating problems and questions; they reflect the disharmonious complexity of our modern civilization. Garborg is a fair example of this. In his mind have clashed well-nigh all possible systems of the modern world. The Christian religion, which looks upon life as something of value only in so far as it creates values for something beyond itself and which in the Norwegian Lutheran forms of Western Norway is somewhat inimical to a joyous, free “yea-saying to life,” is one important element in the clash. Another is the scientific spirit, which demands that truth shall be established by experiments and careful observation and classification; and still another, the Hellenistic view, which demands the free, healthy, orderly, well-balanced exercise of all our powers and faculties. Given a strong intellect, an eradicable love for one’s people and one’s native land, an intellectual probity and desire for truth which never refrains from following a thought to the bitter end whatever considerations of expediency may intervene; given also a tender heart keenly responsive to beauty whether found in religion or nature—and we have the explanation of Garborg’s works.

To understand Garborg one must study Lutheranism as it has come to be in Western Norway. Pietism, ultra-Puritanism, has swept over Garborg’s native land time and again since the days of the Reformation. The dark, gloomy religious attitude is particularly strong in the mountain valleys and along the deep, narrow fjords of Western Norway. Life here on earth is viewed as a journey—and as it is more pleasant to travel with but a sparing amount of baggage, so it is often held desirable to journey through life with as few earthly possessions as possible.³⁴ The ideal of

³⁴ One counteracting influence is the fact that one must, in such a poor land, provide carefully for the morrow, or starve.

asceticism enters in: deny yourself, mortify the flesh, give all or nothing. People often seem to think that Brand in Ibsen's play of that name—Brand, who at all times demands *all or nothing*—is an impossible type. He is not. There are people in Norway today who in the name of religion make essentially the same demands upon weak flesh. Renounce the world, think of heaven early and late, are words constantly heard. Ibsen's celebrated formula *all or nothing* is what the children in many a Norwegian Lutheran home hear from their most tender years. They are told that to drink is sin, to smoke is sin, to play cards is sin, to dance is likewise sin. And the theater is considered on a par with the house of ill fame.

A foreigner may wonder why he finds so many religious preoccupations in Garborg, so many Biblical quotations and so much Biblical diction. He may wonder why the entire Norwegian literature from 1850 on occupies itself so largely with religion. The reason is that religion is a big and dominant element in the life of a Norwegian. The Norwegian either rejoices within it or, as an unconverted sinner, lives under the dark cloud of its condemnation; or, on the other hand, cannot accept its dogmas as true, and yet cannot free himself from it to find abiding peace in something else. The Norwegian religion is sincere and occupies a large place in the life of the common people. It is taught in the elementary schools one or two hours a day. The children in the common schools are required to learn the religious text-books by heart. The result of all this instruction is that Norwegians become so familiar with Biblical quotations and wise sayings that they unconsciously use them in their daily speech as well as in their literary work—even as Milton and Bunyan did in England. This then will explain why we find so much of this quality in Garborg, Bjørnson, Ibsen, and other XIXth century writers in Norway.

Garborg, Bjørnson, and other Norwegian writers have all passed through violent religious crises. Why? At home they were taught that the Bible is true, every part of it inspired, that the values of life—the supreme and eternally abiding values—are connected with the soul and the life to come. When these writers came out into life and began to grow mentally, they came in contact with speculative philosophy, the positive scientific spirit, and with Higher Criticism. They could no longer fully accept the

Bible; their faith in the immortality of the soul was shaken. With the loss of the belief in the soul, with which the values of life were connected, life seemed to lose all meaning, all worth, all purpose. The suffering was extreme; and these men turned at times bitterly against the religious system which had taught them to look for things which cannot be furnished, which had given them guiding principles and means of consolation that would break down when most needed.³⁵

Directly or by implication Garborg criticizes now and then the Norwegian type of religion. The following are some of the faults laid at its door. It has made life too narrow and, as a consequence, has caused much needless suffering. No pleasures are allowed. People brood over sin and fall into morbid self-examination, all of which may end in suicide or insanity. In this connection let us recall that Garborg's own father hanged himself largely because of religious difficulties. Religion is other-worldly in its very essence. This fact may tend to weaken the national feeling of a deeply religious people. The "one necessary thing" becomes *salvation*.

Garborg has attacked the narrow Norwegian religious system because, as he holds, it tends to stifle the legitimate exercise of thought and the spirit of bold, free investigation. He has attacked it for its lack of red-blooded patriotism, for its extreme ascetic attitude, for its too frequent escapes from bitter reality into the realm of fancy. But he often returns in the direction of religion, and is imbued with the spirit of its founder to such an extent that religious people in Norway are waiting and watching for his conversion.

After these preliminary remarks, which I have thought necessary for an intelligent understanding of much of what Garborg has written, we shall pass now to a more detailed examination of his earlier works.³⁶

Garborg has written from the time he could hold a pen. Most of what he wrote before he came to Christiania in 1873 is now lost. But from reports by those who still remember some of

³⁵ As with, e. g., Mrs. Alving in Ibsen's *Ghosts*.

³⁶ For amplification and corroboration of the facts and views which I have presented above, see Garborg *Knudskei brev*; and Hj. Christensen, *Det nittende aarhundredes kulturkamp i Norge*.

it, and from what is yet available, we gather that in those early days he was an ardent defender of Christianity—at least in its essentials—and, strange to say, did not think that *Landsmaal* was the language for him. In 1873 he published *Smaa stubber af Alf Buestreng*.²⁷

2. Garborg published in 1884 a collection of short stories. The first story, *Av laak Ætt*, was written in the year 1878. It contains nothing of special interest even though one may say that it is a splendid piece of work for so young a man. Another story in the same collection dates from 1879, and bears the title *Seld til den vonde*. It is an excellent story. Garborg, now twenty-eight years old, shows himself in full possession of his powers as a writer. The story has all the weird power of Poe's descriptions of the strange and unearthly and has in addition a remarkable insight into human nature. We have here a story which palpitates with life and human interest, but into which the supernatural is also introduced. The theme is a mother's love and the winning one's way back to virtue by means of love and self-sacrifice. This story is typical of a characteristic of Norwegian story writers in its introduction of the supernatural in the form of God and the devil or in the form of fairies. The reason for this? The concreteness of much of the religious imagery may be given as one reason. Another factor may be sought in the Norwegian scenery, which undoubtedly makes people more responsive to Nature than can ever be the case in less favored regions. The silence of the great fjords, where the moonlight divides sharply the zone of light from the zone of darkness; the great calm of the mountains; the ocean sleeping in its crushing immensity or lashed into fury by the storms of autumn and winter; and, finally, the weird light of the summer midnight—all these are factors in arousing the imagination to fancy and dreams. The inhabitants of Western Norway have peopled Nature with beings of their own creation. The terrible *draug* sails in his half boat, the *nøkk* waits for his prey, the *Huld*—a sort of fairy woman—may be seen on summer nights or even in broad daylight. Then there are *nisser* and *tomtekaller* and a host of other

²⁷ For a discussion of *Alf Buestreng* and the earlier writings of Garborg see my article in *Publ. of the Society for the Adv. Scand. Study*, Vol. II, pp. 181-195.

creatures. Ibsen makes use of the popular superstition—scarcely even a superstition now, of course—that trolls dwell in the mountains. See for instance the Dovre-scene in *Peer Gynt*. Jonas Lie wrote a large collection of stories called *Trold (Samlede Værker, Vol. X)*.³⁸ The story of Garborg's which I am here discussing shows his ability to picture intense emotions as well as to create scenes of great imaginative power. He shows himself fully acquainted with theological reasonings about good and evil, with popular superstitions about the power of the devil; and he knows how to use Nature to increase the effect sought. The scene in the church where the devil comes to fetch the soul of a lad who has been sold to him by the lad's own mother is one of the most powerful things in all Norwegian literature.³⁹

Before I leave this early collection of short stories, I desire to mention one other. *Ungdom*, written some time before 1884, is a sprightly story in which the author pits against each other the non-moral exuberance of young life without higher culture and higher culture without nature and warmth of heart. He incidentally raises the question of the reasonableness of asking a child of two or three weeks the baptismal questions required by the Lutheran ritual. The story has fine irony throughout.

We may now pass on to a consideration of Garborg's longer works.

3. *Ein Fritenkjar* was written in the summer of 1878 and appeared serially in *Fedraheimen*, the paper of which Garborg was editor since 1877. It appeared in book-form as a second edition, Christiania, 1881. The story treats of an honest doubter, or a freethinker who is thoroughly noble-minded and worthy. Now the conservative people of Western Norway would be inclined to exclude from the realm of the possible any such combination as "freethinker" and "noble-minded," or "worthy"; the sympathetic treatment of an infidel would be looked upon as an attack on Christianity. Hauk, the main character, the "freethinker," the son of a pastor, a student of theology, represents the new element which has put in appearance in Norway. He has lost his religious faith—not only certain matters of detail which may lead to more

³⁸ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. VI, pp. 211-15.

³⁹ I shall speak of the fairy-lore of Western Norway in connection with Garborg's *Haugtussa*.

"refined" or more "extenuated" forms of Christian belief—but a loss of the very essentials of Christianity through independent thought and criticism. This emancipated man falls in love, strange to say, with the orthodox daughter of an orthodox Lutheran minister! He struggles to free himself from this love so as not to bring the girl into inevitable suffering. But she has the noble—not to say somewhat romantic—desire to sacrifice, if need be, her life and happiness to help back to religion the man she loves. They marry—and are happy. A child is born. Shall it be baptized or not? Difficult question for the parents to discuss. The mother decides she must have it baptized. Hauk has given up theology because he does not want to be a hypocrite; he works on a radical paper. His name is given to the public by a pastor. All is over; he is practically hounded from the land. His wife goes home to her parents to weep her life away. Hauk ranges at large for years. When he returns to his native land he finds his wife dead, his own son a very orthodox Lutheran pastor—and the first thing the son does is to try to convert his father. The gray-haired father dies shortly after in the house of his son—without accepting the Christian faith. In the funeral sermon the young pastor pronounces his own father eternally lost.

The story is rather good in plot; from this point of view more "interesting" than some of the later and otherwise more important works of Garborg. It is—I will not say superficial—somewhat sketchy here and there. The book is in its essentials true enough and possible; and it is remarkable that a man so young had already attained so wide an outlook and such power of picturing the clash of systems in society and the clash of emotions in the heart. We find already some excellent bits of psychological analysis and painting of strong feelings. So much for the story. Now as to the thought. The book is fairly flooded with ideas. I shall try to show what these ideas are and the systems with which the book deals by an outline of the main characters which represent in the story these ideas and systems.

The old pastor, father of the girl that Hauk marries, represents the type of minister so well pictured in Ibsen's *Ghosts*. In his youth he has had doubts, but he has settled back into the faith again, frightened by the terrible *consequences* in this world and the

next that may come to him who loses his faith.⁴⁰ He is upright and sincere and capable of self-sacrifice. Balle, the assistant pastor, represents the narrow, somewhat vulgar, pugnacious, orthodox minister. He sets his face like flint against any new idea that may come from France or elsewhere. Whatever does not readily harmonize with the official Lutheran creed he rejects without more ado. He uses the familiar argument against "freethinking" that if religion is lost, it is merely a question of a short time before all mankind will be moral degenerates and ravenous wolves.⁴¹

The only part of the book that is somewhat violent in tone is the treatment of the Church on pages 88-92; otherwise the author refrains from too direct comment. There is no special glorification of the "emancipation" of freethinkers but rather a dispassionate or somewhat sad exposition of what life has to offer a thinking man. The book deals with the relation of Christianity and advancing unbelief—unbelief due to earnest thought and sincere convictions, not to a desire to profit by the moral laxity which might result from a disintegration of one's childhood faith. The catastrophe is due not to wickedness, hardness of heart, or flying in the face of the positive law of the land, but to the clashings of creeds and systems over which the individuals are not masters. Those in the established order fare the best (Balle or Hauk's father); those partly in both orders are destroyed (Ragna, Hauk's wife); and those who, like Hauk, are outside may retain their soundness of character but are apt to lose life's happiness—unless indeed *happiness* is found in freedom of thought and independence.

It would be interesting to know what Garborg's own religious standpoint was at this time. He does not definitely commit himself in the book except in so far as he shows that an infidel can be a noble character—which view of the matter good orthodox Christians of course find unthinkable. In a letter to Hj. Christensen, Garborg says:

"Der tales om P. L. Hærems religiøse standpunkt; dette udtryk er jo ikke udtømmende; mit "standpunkt" dengang var ikke saa klart. (Sagt i almindelige ord kunde det angives saa omtrent: jeg søgte, som det sig et ungt meneske i den tid egnede og anstod, en universal livsanskuelse; denne skulde omfatte to momenter: "det kristelige" og "det menneskelige," det er, almenkulturen; og

⁴⁰ *Ein Fritenkjar*, Chr., 1881, p. 38.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

det maatte blive de fortvilede bestræbelser paa at "forsone" disse "modsætninger," som skulde kunne kaldes mit standpunkt fra den tid.)"

And again:

"Jeg var endnu ikke omvendt⁴² da jeg skrev "Ein Fritenkjar," omend vistnok længer paa omvendelsens vei, end jeg for mig selv tilstod. Det var en stor revolution for mig, den, og det uagtet jeg—ikke var "kristen."⁴³

4. We shall next take up *Bondestudentar* (Bergen, 1883).

This book is admittedly a comprehensive and valuable social study. It has all the value of a true and realistic document. The main character, the history of whose development and experiences forms the unity of the book, is Daniel Sørbraut, or Daniel Braut, as he is finally called. The story tells how this peasant boy came to study in Christiania and what hardships met him in his early career.

The book begins with a gospel hymn! We are introduced to a peasant family where pietism and religious ideas reign. We have here—as those who are in a position to know aver—a picture of Garborg's own childhood home. Daniel, the young boy, does not want to be a peasant; he does so admire the easy life and fine clothes of the minister and government officials. He is sent to a private school for a while. His poor parents struggle hard to get money to send him to a town school. In due time he is sent there. But the town-boys make life none too pleasant for "bonde-tampen som tala 'landsmaal.'" Here we have the relation of Danish-Norwegian and Landsmaal touched upon. Daniel, as a typical farmer boy of a few years ago, is ashamed of his rural speech, and sets about to learn the city Danish as fast as possible. In due time his parents, with their own and borrowed money, manage to get him to Christiania to prepare for the university. He goes to Heltberg's famous preparatory school. Garborg gives us some unforgettable scenes of student life in the Norwegian capital and of the methods of this unique school, which Bjørnson, Ibsen, and Vinje attended. Various currents of thought meet the boy in the capital. Here are a few staunch defenders of Landsmaal; here are radicals such as *Dølen* (Vinje), ultra-radicals such as *Fram* (Fjørtoft); here are noble humanitarian saints of the old school

⁴²"omvendt," I take it, is not used here in the religious sense but merely as "changed to my more permanent views," come to clearness.

⁴³ See Hjalmar Christensen, *Nordiske Kunstnere*, Chr. 1895. p. 40.

such as "Pater" (Hærem); here are men who risk their all for ideas and ideals; here are also men who abide by religion and the well-established order because in those things lie the greatest promise of material prosperity and advancement of their own selves. Garborg has given us very sympathetic and beautiful pictures of Fram, Dølen, and Pater. This last—a saintly man who persistently refused to think ill of any one, who sought out the good in all he met and did his best to strengthen that good—has been immortalized by Garborg. When students were starving—and that happened often—when they could no longer raise a loan, they would come to "Pater," and pretend that they were converted. He would not pry into their past life but helped them to get money and positions. He was indeed their "Pater," the name by which he came to be known in the student world.

Daniel Braut begins to dissipate somewhat; borrows money from his companions as long as he can—and has abundant chances to starve. And the story of how he goes out to borrow money one evening after nearly starving to death, stands unmatched in all Norwegian literature.⁴⁴ In due time he goes to Hærem ("Pater") is sent to the country in the capacity of *huslærer*, comes into contact with "formal culture," and finds that this is often only a rather thin coat of veneer. Now strange to say, this discovery does not make him see the good points in his own peasant origin. The partial destruction of his idol—the famous "formal culture"—makes him glad; it won't be so hard for him now to qualify among the "cultured." For the sake of money he becomes engaged to the somewhat aged daughter of his employer. In connection with this last feat we have the sad and the comic combined. He writes a letter of proposal. Of course, there must be love in such a letter—but not more than he can, without too much discomfort, redeem when he meets his "sweetheart" face to face. He chooses theology for his study because the theological career furnishes a good living, and, moreover, the professors of theology have such a good, consoling way of settling every troublesome question and disposing of every doubt and difficulty. And when by chance one time he sees Hirsch, his first teacher and the man who tried to instill in his heart disinterested love for the ideal in life, he makes his escape up a side-street. And thus the story ends.

⁴⁴ See *Skrifter i Samling*, pp. 141-49.

Daniel Braut is not a sympathetic figure. He is more or less of a non-entity. His individuality is not strong enough to assimilate and make his own the new which he comes in contact with; he is driven hither and thither like a dry leaf in the wind. The only element of identity which goes through his whole development is a plebeian love of ease. He has, as every young man at all awake intellectually must have, his period of doubt and questioning; but, as his life is scarcely ruled by ideals, and, as he is to a large extent impervious to ideas, he soon settles back, with a sigh of relief, into the rut of the old established order. He must not be taken as a fair example of what the peasant students are—and certainly not now after the *Landsmaal* movement has given more dignity to the peasants.

The book gives the impression—which impression is sustained by Norwegian critics, who are in a position to control the facts—that Garborg does not juggle the main "facts" of the story to suit any preconceived idea or theory. He gives us a somewhat detailed, panoramic exposition of student life, of cultural conditions and of the economic situation in the Norway of the times. We get glimpses—later on he gives us more—of the Bohemian life in the Norwegian capital; and what we see is far from being altogether of the good. The book has a pervading spirit of disillusionment, but not necessarily of despair. Here and there we get bits of trenchant wit and touches of irony—irony not so much in the words as in the very situations themselves. When Garborg preaches in his works, it is the facts that speak with irresistible logic.

Religion, as embodied in "Pater," is treated with respectful sympathy. Not so the State Church. This Church, which is often a mere department in the government, and the theological professors with their curious logic and eternal considerations of expediency, are at times treated somewhat harshly. The book shows in a way the danger of detaching too suddenly the peasants from the soil—or any class from its environment. It shows the danger of bringing the peasants into a life and environment where their own narrow system of religion and morals is in danger of breaking down and where their cultural background and antecedents are of little help to them in the crisis which comes from being transplanted. The remedy suggested seems to be: Educate the peasants for their work on the farms; teach them to honor their traditions, their own

Norwegian language; teach them to develop their solid peasant virtues rather than to imitate the good and the bad of the cities. This problem of transplanting, which meets the peasant-born student upon his coming to the city, is somewhat like that which meets a people like the Indians when they are suddenly brought into contact with European civilization. They may lose their own manly virtues and adopt quickly the vices of the new system.

The book shows how very often the hopes and ideals of youth are blasted in the struggle for existence; but it also shows how it is possible to cling to those same ideals and through the storm and stress carry them to a higher plane and found them in a clearer way on the more permanent elements in life. The main character is weakly receptive, not powerfully assimilative and reactive. To Braut, religion is not a depository where one may lay up the best of life, but rather a means to an end—and that end is social advancement and material ease. Braut never sees in education a process of ennobling man, of helping man to find himself, and to realize himself, to vindicate his nature, but a means to become like the neatly uniformed functionaries and government officials, whose life seems such an easy one. Braut has had some doubts and troubles, but the heights are not for him; he cannot understand the man who risks common happiness, his career, his very life, that he may find worthy happiness and true life. He asks *are we happy?* but never *have we a right to be happy under the circumstances?* He sinks back into plebeian humdrumness and the well-established order, where the Church sanctifies and the moralists label actions by approved systems.

The book is a most realistic study, sad as so much in life must be. Wings are clipped, hopes abandoned, dreams given up, till at last little but the vegetative phases of life are left. The above is the exposition of the book, but not its logic. Its logic is: a man finds his level as surely as water does, and however bitter and long the struggle, he who remains true to himself will keep safe the greatest in life—his self-respect.

5. In *Bondestudentar* part of the problem was the relation of the classes, the different social strata. In *Mannfolk* (Chr., 1886) the problem is rather the relation of individuals of the same class, the relation of the sexes and the problem of love and "free love."

The book has not a strongly centralized plot, but is rather a sort of panoramic of Bohemian life, fornication, adultery, misery, passions, discords, and theories of all sorts. It is ultra-realistic. It is also one of a number of books which at this time came from the hands of different writers all treating nearly the same subject. Two of these books, *Fra Kristianiabohemen* and *Albertine*, both by Norwegian writers, were confiscated by the Norwegian government. I cannot pass upon the wisdom of the action of the Norwegian government in the case of these confiscated books as I have not been able to procure them. But the government most assuredly did right in not confiscating Garborg's book, realistic and outspoken as it is. For, however much he describes the passions and the sins of the sexes, Garborg does it in such a way that the scenes which he describes, and the images which he evokes to lend truth to his exposition, never inspire one to sin. Garborg speaks freely; the most sacred privilege is to him the right of "free discussion."

Bondestudentar and *Mannfolk* are by Garborg placed in the same volume of his *Skrifter i Samling*. And properly so. We meet somewhat the same persons in the two works. The chief character of *Mannfolk*, Kruse, rooms at the house of Daniel Braut, who, it will be remembered, was the main character in *Bondestudentar*. This idea of introducing the same characters in different grouping in successive works is something we find not only in Garborg. There is a striking example of this sort of thing in French literature for instance in the novels of Honoré de Balzac, where it is possible to work out a whole biographical dictionary of the characters.

Mannfolk pictures student life, Bohemian life, the relation of the sexes, marriage with or without divorce, the union based on love and which lasts as long as the love lasts. On page 243 of *Mannfolk*⁴⁵ we find the following significant topic of discussion. The scene is a sort of Bohemian dance in Christiania.

" . . . Dei var øl-lentuge⁴⁶ og tala meir um haremchefar; straks etter var dei inni eit ordskift um, kva som kunde vera verst eller best, fleirgifte med haremsskikkar, som Tyrken hadde det, eller eingifte med prostitusjon, som det var hjaa os."

We find in the book intensely sensuous and powerful descriptions (p. 244), and an astonishing amount of striking Biblical quotations brought in at most appropriate but unexpected moments.

⁴⁵ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. I.

⁴⁶ Ale-witty.

"Hovude laag og kvilte paa bunken av dei høge aksline 'som Johannes den Døbers hoved paa et fad.'" (p. 250) "Og tyrst var han som den rike mannen i helvite. . . . Bjølsvik banna⁴⁷ den dagen han var fødd." (p. 240) The last part of the second quotation refers of course to Job.

The religious element is treated in connection with Daniel Braut, the chief character from *Bondestudentar*. Braut is now married to the *proprietor's* daughter. His wife brought him no money, for her father went into bankruptcy shortly after the marriage—and it was solely for money that he married her. Braut cannot understand why the Lord should "permit him to be fooled thus." We also learn that Braut, the theological student and future pastor, has had his share of illicit relations. But by this time he hides carefully such phases of his past life, under the religious cloak and mask. His idea of religion is wholly utilitarian, materialistic: it is an arrangement by means of which we may get material blessings here on earth and salvation in the next life. He has not the conception of religion as something which ennoble, beautifies human life, something which helps us to a deeper view of the world; helps us to a nobler faith, a firmer hope, and a larger charity. Garborg is picturing in Braut the religious concepts of not a few people in all lands.

But the main discussion and treatment in the book is not the religious problem but rather "free love" and the relation of the sexes in general.⁴⁸ We find utterances such as these, which are well calculated to arouse questions in the mind of the thoughtful reader.

"Kva er det for ein slavehandlartanke: binde seg til eit anna menneskje for livstid? I alle opplyste land var der ei lov som sagde, at dersom det eine menneskje gav eller selde seg til det andre, so skulde den transaksjonen vera ugild; men ægteskape var ein slik transaksjon. Det gjekk ikkje for seg aa gjera kontrakt um kjenslur og viljar, og det var tull aa leggje politiband paa ei naturmagt." (p. 307)

The problem is: what shall the young people do who by natural necessity love and who may not have the means to marry? The moralist will answer: Remain chaste! That would, of course, be a splendid solution of it, if people would only do so—or could do

⁴⁷ *forbanna*, 'cursed.'

⁴⁸ It may be of interest to note that Garborg published in 1888 a 99-page pamphlet on *Fri Skilsmisse*.

so. But behold any big city—London, Paris, Berlin, New York, Christiania—and the facts are these: all of the young people do not remain chaste in spite of good intentions on their part and all the efforts of the moralists. Nature is constantly with us, but marriage must be deferred longer and longer on account of the heavy expenses connected with a household. One way out of the difficulty is to set up illicit relations; the two lovers live together as long as their love lasts. Julie Linder and Mr. Jonathan in *Mannfolk* try this arrangement. He expounds to her and preaches to her his ideas on "free love" and emancipation; he tells her how marriage destroys all by bringing to bear on love police regulations and the positive law of the land. She enters the union and feels free and happy—for a time. But soon her womanly nature exerts itself—and woman is always more tradition-bound than man is. She wants a home, she wants her position legitimized, she wants rights and security; she feels that in all these "free" arrangements woman is too much at a disadvantage. Finally Jonathan marries her, that is, the arrangement proved an unstable equilibrium which may lead to the ruin of the woman's happiness or which must seek in marriage a way to save appearances.

On page 322 Garborg takes up the problem for discussion. "Free love" proves impossible, marriage has its inevitable disillusion, men are brutal and selfish, women too often sell their bodies for social rank or merely for a living. He points out how much the new "arrangement" has in it of suffering for the women and opportunities for selfishness on the part of the men. Women have not independence enough to live in these relations. Jonathan, when he has decided to marry his young, beautiful mistress, says (p. 363) that

"han elska henne; han kunde ikkje sleppa henne; men ho klara det ikkje lenger paa den andre maaten; ho maatte og vilde ha prestebrev; fekk ho det ikkje av honom tok ho det av ein annan, ein som ho ikkje brydde seg um. Han kunde ikkje segja stort um det. Kvinna var ikkje menneskje; ho var samfund. Flokk; samvit; motejournal. Var ho ikkje klædd etter motejournalen so kjende ho seg simpel; og elska ho utan politibrev, so kjende ho seg urein, og vart urein. Mot den aalmenne meining kunde ho ikkje klara seg. Ho maatte ha korsett, Korsett paa sjæli som paa kroppen."

Kruse, the "hero" of the book, enters into relations with the housemaid at the home of Braut. A child is born in misery and squalor far out in the slums of Christiania. The suffering—physi-

cal and spiritual—of the poor mother and the suffering and death of the poor, little child are told with singular power and pathos. (Pp. 372-86.) Those pages are unmatched in our literature and are worthy of a place in *Les Misérables*. If anything purifies from selfish passion, such a description does; it is no wonder that the Norwegian government did not confiscate the book in spite of the ultra-realism of it.

I mentioned realism. We are now in the most realistic and naturalistic period of Garborg's literary activity. There is a somewhat bitter spirit of irony and disillusion apparent in *Mann-folk*. Garborg is one of those people who cannot live mainly "objectively," but who analyze life rather than take it as it comes. And life disappoints him. A partial explanation is offered in the religion of other-worldliness, which he was instructed in when young. He was given thought-forms which larger experience tends to repudiate; he was inspired with hopes which life cannot fulfil; and morals were taught him on a basis which sincere thought and intellectual probity are often forced to reject.

6. The next book, *Hjaa ho mor*, Bergen, 1890, is one of Garborg's most powerful studies. It is not always interesting reading, if we mean by "interesting" something which contains abundant plot, action, intrigue, hair-raising situations, and melo-dramatic climaxes. The book is a skillful depicting—in the case of a girl—of the external life and mental effects and reflexes of that external life. Her childhood, girlhood, and womanhood are minutely treated. The book produces a powerful impression, and we get to know the main character thoroughly.

Fru Holmsen is a divorced woman; Holmsen is an inebriate and a general degenerate. Fru Holmsen is in extreme poverty, tries to work for herself and children, and is practically forced to sell her body for money. She is also forced through poverty to let her two oldest children live on charity in the house of her former husband's mistress. And in such surroundings Fanny Holmsen, the main character of the story, grows up. Fanny tries to remain pure in spite of all. She has the respect for herself that a woman ought to have and which—if women had more of it or had it more generally—would help to purify the life in our larger cities. She will not do anything which will lower her self-respect. Tempta-

tions are put in her way. Employers try to corrupt her—and she leaves the service. She tries to get instruction by self-study. Disillusions here and elsewhere. A rich, old, ugly custom-house official wants to marry her. She does not love him and will not marry him merely for money. Her mother urges her to accept him. She will not sell herself for riches. Gabriel Gram, who has already appeared in *Mannfolk* and with whom we are to get thoroughly acquainted in *Tratte Mænd*—comes into her life. He loves her in a way; she loves him sincerely. He is “emancipated” and will not marry her; so he offers to make her his mistress. Then, after a violent sickness, she accepts the ugly old “publican,” the custom house official. She makes him promise to give her a trip to Italy—and she finds some consolation in the thought that she may jump from the deck of the steamer and thus end it all. But she has not the courage to commit suicide. She returns from Italy, pale, hopeless, suffering. She seeks refuge from the world in religion.

The book is a powerful psychological study and shows a profound knowledge of human nature. It is thoroughly realistic—could scarcely be more so. We find the *bête humaine* deep in the mire. Various social problems and political questions are touched upon in passing.

7. The next book, *Tratte Mænd*, Chr., 1891, marks a culmination. It sums up and ends Garborg's most dreadfully realistic period. It stands without a parallel in Norwegian literature. It is the work of a man who has suffered intensely, who has met face to face the issues of life, its conflicting views, and who knows that all is vanity. It is the product of a lyric poet, a keen critic, a merciless satirist, a man of incorruptible intellectual probity. Such things as are treated in this book cannot be wholly imagined such things must have been lived—at least in part—by the man who writes them. Garborg treats here such matters as the loss of the commonly accepted values, the meaninglessness of existence, the inability of the senses to satisfy us, the silence of philosophy where we would most like to know, the inability of beauty to give us abiding satisfaction, the hopelessness and inefficiency of dissipation to “drown our sorrows.” We cannot find abiding peace and satisfaction in the physical, ethical, and esthetic way. Can

we find it in the religious? Now let us consider the book more in detail.

The book purports to be the diary of Gabriel Gram, a character which appears in *Mannfolk* and *Hjaa ho mor* in minor roles but who now is the central figure. It is a *journal intime*, and, indeed, leaves nothing unsaid. Gram is a highly composite nature, one of those born to sorrow. He cannot be with the saints and he cannot live at ease among those who sin a little, love a little, go to church a little, repent a little—live their humdrum lives with a fair amount of content,—but who form after all the strength and backbone of a nation. He has not the power to identify himself with some movement, illusion, reform, anything you like; something that can bridge over the pits and chasms of existence and tide us over into eternity. Gram reflects and gathers up in his soul the conflicting elements and cultural currents of modern life, without possessing the power to reduce them to anything like unity. His life and happiness are ground between the upper and nether millstones.

Trætte Mænd is the modern counterpart of *Eclesiastes*. Indeed Garborg refers somewhere to this celebrated ancient composition as something so thoroughly modern that no modern writer could do it better. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" may be taken as the motto of *Trætte Mænd*. There is no plot to speak of: a series of monologues, dialogues, psychological analyses—that is all. And all is expressed with a striking adequateness of language, ranging from lyric beauty to the most grim, closely-knit reasoning and the keenest thrusts of satire. It is impossible to give an orderly resumé of the book. There is little of order and plan; it is a succession of moods and fancies, hopes and fever-dreams. All I can do is to give some excerpts, which will sufficiently show the spirit of the work. The characters are for the most part old acquaintances from the books which we have already considered. The main female character is Fanny Holmsen from *Hjaa ho mor*.

"Ja, ja; vi er flinke, vi menneskebørn. Vore nødvendigheder og indskrænketheder digter vi om til dyder og er kry af dem. Som vi omgjør slægtopholdelsesdrift til 'kærlighed,' saaledes blir den brutale omstændighed, at vi er vanedyr og legemlig-aandeligt bundne til et bestemt milieu, omfantaseret til en saa poetisk illusion som 'fædrelandskærlighed.'

"Komisk ide: 'elske' et stykke geografi! 'Elske' 5800 kvadratkilometer!"⁴⁰
So much for patriotism.

⁴⁰ *Trætte Mænd. Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. III, p. 37.

Dr. Kvaale speaks:

"Kvinden er slægtvæsenet par excellence, ved jeg. Det er ganske naturligt. Monandriet er noget satanstøi."⁸⁰

Gram, in talking about one of his former lively companions who is now metamorphosed into a sedate and contented minister of the gospel, says:

"Han er ganske sikkert lykkeligere end jeg. Men jeg er ikke paa nogen maade istand til at misunde ham. Det er til syvende og sidst ikke lykken, vi søger; det er noget andet, noget højere."⁸¹

Here we meet the thought that the important question is not *are we happy?* but rather *have we a right to be happy under the circumstances?*

Georg Jonathan, one of the characters in the book, is rather much of a sinner, but he does not go to ruin because he lives so much "objectively." Not so with Gabriel Gram.

Gram: "De er lykkelig De med all Deres interesser."

Georg Jonathan: "Vil man leve, maa man leve udadvendt. Den sunde vilje er altid udadvendt, og uden en sund vilje (skuldretræk)—gaar man enten i sjøen eller til presten."⁸²

Let us remember that Georg Jonathan is half English and hence represents most beautifully the Anglo-American ideals of materialistic well-being.

Gram has this to say about woman's suffrage and feminism in general:

"Nei, nei; men sagen er, at hverken staten eller andre arbejdsherrer kan være tjente med funktionærer, som, ret som det er, maa ha ni maaneders permission. . . ." (p. 84)

Gram is tired of the blatant scientific positivism:

"Hele sagen er vel at man begynder at bli lidt træt af disse evindelige hestekræfter." (p. 105)

We find that some critics say that Gram merely plays with religion, that he merely seeks in it a stimulant for his jaded senses that his life is merely emotion-hunting. But, no. It is the sincere, longing of the prodigal son for the house of his father (problem treated at length in *Den burtkomne faderen*). When one is out in the struggles and the turmoil of life, one longs back to the peace and security of one's childhood religion. But if one cannot accept the foundation—the creed—on which the church has reared its

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸² *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. III, p. 77.

structure, one cannot make into anything permanent the calm which the church gives to the believers. Every day—while on his visit to the country—Gram walks over to the old church—the church so rich in childhood memories and sacred associations.

"Selv en gammel garvet rationalist som jeg blir ordentlig rørt. 'Kom hid til mig, og jeg vil give dig hvile,' siger den gamle, tjærebrædte bondekirke til mig; og jeg kommer, og finder hvile. . . . Ind i kirken gaar jeg forresten ikke. Man har restaareret den." (p. 142)

What have philosophy and science to offer us? what answers to give to the most burning questions?

"Er der en Gud?—'Vi ved ikke.'—Er der en sjæl?—'Vi ved ikke.'—skal vi leve eller dø?—'Vi ved ikke.'—Hvorfor eksisterer vi?—'Vi ved ikke.'—Eksisterer jeg i det hele taget?—'Vi ved ikke.'—Hvad ved vi da egentlig?—'Vi ved ikke.'—Kan man i det hele taget vide noget?—'Vi ved ikke.' Dette systematiske *Vi-ved-ikke* kaldes videnskab. Og menneskene slaar hænderne sammen af beundring og jubler: Menneskehedens fremskridt er ufattelige og ubegribelige; herefter behøver vi hverken tro eller guder mere." (p. 150)

Now and then Gram longs for religion, not for the material prosperity which religion might help him to obtain, but for its eternal values and its vindication of the best in life.

"Gud hvor jeg misunder denne prestemand. Tænk, have noget der er helligt . . . noget som man har religion for; noget som har værd, som har varighed, som bestaar; noget som man kan hvile ved og bygge paa, holde sig til under all omstændigheder . . . En fred som verden ikke kan tage; en skat som møl og rust ikke fortærer." (p. 197)

Now suppose we ask what art can do for us, what lasting satisfaction the esthetic side of things can furnish us.

"'Kunsten,' 'kunsten'; hvad er til syvende og sidst kunsten? En lækkerbidsken mere for den som har appetit, og en spot mere for den livstrætte. Michelangelo, Dante, Beethoven—er meget store. Men ingen af dem har hjælp for en sjæl som er i nød." (p. 201)

What consolation may we find in the thought that the world is growing more democratic? We get an answer like that given by Nietzsche.

"'Fremtiden' er en fæl forestilling. Fabrikker og velstaaende arbejdere. Verden fuld af oplyste, velnærede smaaborgersjæle, som spiser, drikker og forplanter sig videnskabeligt. Jeg vil ikke være med. Jeg vil simpelthen ikke." (p. 222)

What then? Shall we seek consolation in the thought of death, in the thought of total extinction of our individual being? Shall we renounce life? And can we find comfort in such a system as that of Buddha?

"Buddhismen er ikke noget for mig. Jeg stikker i barbarisme til over

ørene. Dette med forsagelsen er mig for negativt: mit væsen tørster efter tilfredsstillelse, lykke, kærlighed." (p. 224)

When most tortured Gram goes at times to a Catholic church and listens to the playing of the organ, smells the incense, contemplates the images; and in the religious seclusion of the church finds a sort of peace. (Garborg himself has tried this method several times.)

Now and then Gram turns violently against the critics who have destroyed the possibility of faith.

"Forbandet være kritiken som har optæret troens rygmarv i os, og videnskaben der med frække experimentatorfingre tilsøler og tilsmudser alt hvad der skulde være helligt og urørligt. Længe formaaede Mefisto intet mod Guds folk. Da forklædte han sig som videnskab og fik adgang til det helligste. Og se,—pludselig var det slukt, det lille fredelige, hellige lysblink fra Bethlehem." (p. 230) "Den positivistiske skepticisme har ædt paa min sjæl som en syre, indtil selve troesevnen er gaaet tabt." (p. 240)

What remains then for Gram or many a modern man in similar straits? "Vanvidet eller Kristus" (p. 242).

Gram now begins to frequent the church, drawn by its promise of peace, its sincerity, its orderly system, in which the good old words *faith*, *hope*, and *charity* are full of meaning. Gram's case is not a "conversion" by *principles*, it is the toddling homeward of a tired child. What Gram values most in the Church is its order and placid calm, its ideals and working-hope, its faith in good and in progress.

The last quotation which I shall give from *Trætte Mænd* will explain not only Gram's troubles but also those of Garborg and other Norwegian writers of the second half of the 19th century.

"Den egentlige aarsag til de mange nervelidelser i vor tid er den, at livsanskuelsen er i uorden. Et menneske mister—lad os sige Gud; dermed har sjælelivet mistet sit centrum; sjælelivet er blit uden regulator, om jeg saa maa sige, og begynder at styrte afsted i krampagtig vild flugt, uden maal og maade. Og ret som det er springer fjæren." (p.238)

It goes without saying that Garborg must not be held personally responsible for all that is said in this book. But we may say—as we know from other sources—that he has passed through much the same experiences as Gram has. The main character of the book is represented as somewhat given to alcoholic escape from sorrow. Some critics have made much of this fact, and endeavor to reduce the whole book to a disjointed, panoramic account of a mind diseased from bodily excesses of various kinds. But there

is scarcely anything in the book that a sincere thinker, a sensitive person, starting out with Garborg's home conditions and early bringing up, could not come in contact with and experience along the path to culture. We need not consider anything in the book as due to a misuse of the body but rather as owing to an excessive use of the mind on problems which cannot be solved. The book is the work of a man who is somewhat given to self-analysis and who studies life rather than lives it. The book is extremely valuable for the understanding of Garborg's inner life, for the understanding of Norwegian cultural life in the period treated, as well as for the insight it gives into human nature in general. It is the product of a man who has the best stocked mind in Norway.

8. In *Fred* (Bergen, 1892) Garborg returns in earnest to the religious problem of his home-district in Western Norway. He left Gabriel Gram in the arms of the church. What abiding peace and consolation did Gram find there? The next book must not be looked upon as a more or less direct answer. The main characters are so different. Gram suffered from over-culture. Not so Enok Haave, who is a peasant from Western Norway. Enok is imbued with narrow, Puritanical ideas. His great problem is how to find peace. What Gram seeks in ethics, esthetics, art, science, philosophy, religion, Enok tries, to find in religion alone. Hence a greater unity of treatment, more concentration and power in the story. *Fred* is Garborg's more gripping work, a masterpiece which in its kind is not excelled in any of the literatures which I am acquainted with. It treats partly the same problem as Ibsen has treated in *Brand*, but whereas Ibsen goes into allegory and the cloudlands of symbolism, Garborg remains firmly on earth and treats a great spiritual problem in realistic terms of absolute truthfulness and verisimilitude and of singular intensity. The language rises ever and anon to poetic beauty of the highest order; lyric passages abound.

The painting of the chief character, Enok Haave, is based in part on Garborg's own father, who committed suicide mainly through religious difficulties, and is also based on various experiences out of Garborg's own life, as Garborg himself avers in *Knudahi-brev*, page 4. The following quotation gives us the social milieu.

"Det er eit sterkt, tungt folk, som grev seg gjennom live med gruvling og slit

putlar med jordi og granskar skrifti, piner korn av auren og von av sine draumar, trur paa skillingen og trøystar seg til Gud."⁵³

A truer characterization of the people from Garborg's part of Norway has never been given.

Enok Haave feels keenly the conviction of sin and guilt. What must he do to be saved? Go to God. He endeavors to fulfil literally all the requirements of the law. He prays for the voice of God to speak in his heart so that he may know that he has found perfect salvation and has entered into communion with God. He goes into the external extremes of the religious life: wears old clothes, forbids the use of coffee, forbids all kinds of amusements, and on Sundays keeps the children for hours and hours to hear the "text" read.⁵⁴

He antagonizes his family, loses the love and confidence of his children. He begins to take into his house all manner of waifs and gypsies because he feels such conduct to be the will of God. His waifs and befriended people turn out bad. This leads to doubts and misgivings in his mind. He has ill luck on the farm. He begins to doubt whether he is "saved," since the hand of the Lord seems lifted against him. He grows stricter than ever; examines himself; mortifies the flesh—and makes himself intolerable to everybody. He quotes the text which every West Norwegian has heard quoted so often: *Jesus græd*. That text is taken to mean: We must not be jubilant, we must not amuse ourselves; but in a spirit of gravity and grim earnestness consider our sinful condition, and ever have before us the thought of our latter end.

Enok Haave doubts more and more that he is saved, as he cannot fulfil the requirements of the law, and cannot surmount the weaknesses of the flesh. Little by little he is obsessed by the idea that he has committed "the unpardonable sin," that there is no hope for him. He goes to the minister for consolation. That helps a little. But soon the clouds thicken again. He begins to entertain ideas of suicide. He prays God to help him, to keep him from a death which in the Lutheran creed means eternal perdition. He

⁵³ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. IV, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Lesat teksten* means the reading of a long printed sermon, with singing of gospel hymns before and after. This religious exercise took up a large part of the Sunday afternoon—just the time when the children longed to be out playing.

grows more and more despondent. He seeks human sympathy, but his wife is unable to help him and his children are afraid of him or look upon him as an oppressor. When he is in the house, all is quiet; when he is away, every one is joyous and happy. He suffers keenly, hungers for righteousness and peace and affection. The gypsy boy whom he has befriended and brought up in the fear of God, returns to the old homestead to steal Enok's family silver. His oldest boy, Gunnar, goes to Stavanger to work in a store. Gunnar, the oldest son and chief hope of Enok—whom the father has kept most strictly in the path of righteousness—ruins a girl and escapes to America. That blow is too much for Enok. Enok fancies he sees the hand of God in it all; he feels he is lost. Why live longer when hell awaits him anyway? His mind breaks down under the strain; and the peace that he has sought so long he finds—on the bottom of a lake.

The book does not aim to show that "peace" cannot be found in the religious way—in the old gospel way—for examples of this phenomenon may be seen every day. It simply tells us that if one seeks peace by such an extreme acceptance of the Christian religion, one is doomed to failure. But, it is not necessary to generalize the situation in *Fred*. It presents an individual study, a perfectly true and possible character in the person of Enok Haave, whatever larger meaning he may have as a "type." Indirectly the book shows us what sufferings the narrow religious teaching causes in a sincere and earnest mind. Life in such a system of religion is narrowed down to impossible and intolerable limits. The "Flesh" is mortified to the point of reacting violently in some way. Human nature is cramped beyond endurance; and the instincts and vital forces take their revenge by leading the person in question into insanity or moral lawlessness. The first happens in the case of Enok; the second, in the case of his oldest son.

9. In *Læraren* (Christiania, 1896), one of Garborg's two plays, we meet Paulus Haave, son of Enok Haave. He has studied theology, has tried extensive revival work; but in due time he comes to the conclusion that we must, to be true Christians, live up to the teachings of Christ.⁵⁶ Paulus decides to sell his farm—all his property

⁵⁶ We have here somewhat the same problem as is treated in the *Resurrection* of Tolstoi.

in fact—and to give the money to the poor and needy. People impute to him the lowest motives; that he is seeking notoriety, popularity, for the coming election for the *Storthing*. His wife suspects him of loving another woman, and surprises them together at a moment when he is advising that very woman to marry a certain young man of the neighborhood. The wife commits suicide. The innocent Paulus Haave is arrested and taken to court to be tried on circumstantial evidence. With that the play ends.

Paulus Haave is fully as devout as his father, Enok Haave—the main character in *Fred*, but whereas the father lacked inner harmony and so went to ruin, the son—much stronger and surer of himself—loses to be sure his “external” happiness, but retains his inner harmony and self-respect. His life in the community is ruined; but he rises above mere externals because his character is strong and unified.⁵⁶

10. The next book is *Den burtkomne faderen* (Christiania, 1899). It continues the religious problems. We meet Gunnar Haave, the oldest son of Enok Haave, whose escapades in the city—Stavanger of course—had so much to do with the suicide of Enok in *Fred*. The prodigal son has been abroad in the world, lived the life of a prodigal, tried much, suffered much, and at last has longed to return home. But when he returns home, the father is nowhere to be found. Here is meant of course, the heavenly father, as in the parable in the Bible.

“Eg hadde livt som den burtkomne sonen og var som han komin i naud; men daa eg som han søkte heim att, var faderen burte.”⁵⁷

He sought God among the sages, among the saints, and within himself, but found him not.

The book breathes a spirit of sincere resignation, of longing for God and peace. All the bitterness and irony which we found in

⁵⁶ While, of course, the religious questions predominate in *Læreren*, another question of sufficient importance is touched upon. Daniel Braut in *Bondestuder* went to town, became ashamed of his peasant origin, and aped “formal culture” to the best of his ability; Jens Eide, the Sheriff in *Læreren*, assimilates what is good and useful in city culture, and returns serenely to his own glen to live and labor among his people (*Skrifter i Samling*. Vol. IV, pp. 229-30). We are now entering upon Garborg’s period of “home-comings”—back to the simple life, back to nature, and, as far as possible, back to God.

⁵⁷ *Skrifter i Samling*. Vol. IV, p. 337.

Trøtte Mænd and *Fred* is absent here. The book is written in a style that for lyric beauty is well-nigh unmatched in Norwegian.

Gunnar seeks the home of his childhood. Memories which console even while they sadden come to him out of the long ago. The little peasant church draws him; but he does not enter—the illusion would be destroyed. He visits the grave of his mother; he looks in vain for the grave where his father lies buried, for no monument must mark the grave of one who has taken his own life. Much of what is here given in the form of fiction is taken out of Garborg's own life, as we see by comparing the account here given with that in *Knudshoi-brev*.

If we compare this book with the earlier ones, we find here a greater disposition to let alone the impossible problems and to return to a more calm acceptance of the inevitable; we find a return to a sincere endeavor along humanly possible lines. We find the same review of the world's vanities as we found in *Trøtte Mænd*, but not presented in the same spirit. The man who has tried many vain forms of satisfaction now returns to the sincere, simple life of the peasant.

We meet the problem of how much place one ought to give to the critical, analyzing side of man's nature as against faith and a following of the "heart" and feelings. No definite answer is given, but *reason* is not emphasized so much as heretofore. Further questions are: What is there of abiding value in life? Do those who seek "happiness" find what they seek? Are heaven and hell something distant or something which belongs to this life, in short, something within us? Must we not accept life as a postulate and by sane *living* find what happiness there is for us?

Gunnar longs for God, for he is so lonesome at times.

"Gjev eg hadde ein aa beda til um nætane."⁶⁸

He has lived his life in much endeavor, selfishness, and hardness of heart—no more hardness of heart than most people have; only he analyzed himself more—but all appears vanity to him now. What cruelty in the world! That one should eat the other is the law of nature. This bloody succession down through the ages and eons some people call eternal life. The thought is so horrible that Gunnar exclaims:

"Hjelp! Aa kvi ropar eg paa hjelp, naar der ingen er som høyrer?"⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. IV, p. 354.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

But have we not given too much place to philosophy and "reason"?

"Du veit kva den skeptiske filosofi segjer, den gamle visdom som alltid vert ny: tankjen kan skilja sund og løyse upp; berre live kan byggje og skapa."⁶⁰

But suppose we seek to realize perfection here on earth, what then? A few short years and inevitable decay sets in. Yet let us live for others and seek their happiness.

There are beautiful bits of wisdom in this remarkable work, suggestive fragments of a philosophy of life. Let us not ask for unity; there is none—can be none. Garborg has given us the different moods, agonies, flashes of hope, and quiet resignation of an old man. There is apparent a deep longing for permanent values, for righteousness, for God; there is also a perfect willingness to do the commands of God, if God would only show himself clearly and unmistakably to his children. The fatherhood of God is a beautiful idea, but we are forced, for lack of evidence, to abandon it; let us cling then to the idea of the brotherhood of man as our working-ideal and working-faith. Such seems to be the positive teaching of the book.

11. I shall next take up *Heimkomin Son* (Christiania, 1908). This book is more positive and constructive than any of the books which we have considered so far. Garborg has won his way back to peace and to a larger, sereener love of life. There is incidentally some preaching in the book, on the whole of a useful and practical nature. There is a plea for showing honor and respect toward one's parents, for respect for the family; a plea for a school that shall teach children to honor father and mother and native land, a school which shall not be instrumental in making the young people leave the farm to go to the cities or to America.

The main part of the book deals with Paulus Haave. It will be remembered that he is a son of Enok Haave and that he figured in *Læraren*. Paulus was exonerated from all charges relative to the death of his wife. He has become a sort of beneficent saint in the neighborhood. The sorrow which he has encountered in life has not soured his character, but has made him more oblivious of his own self and more sympathetic with others.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 381. We have here the attitude of Pascal and Rousseau.

He has thought much about many things; in *Heimkomin Son* we have the result of these thoughts and experiences. Paulus cares little for the dogmas of the church, but he cares much for the teachings of Christ. One of the friends of Paulus says about his views on theology:

"'Me skal ikkje vera teologar,' segjer han; 'me skal fylgje meistaren.' Men han vedgjeng, at eit grand rudgjing kan turvast her og der; for 'mangt kan bli ugredt, naar meistaren vert tolka etter sveisane og ikkje sveisane etter meistaren.'"⁶¹

He has the same reverence for the Sermon on the Mount that Tolstoy has.

"Ofte les han upp stykke or Bergpreika utan tolking; 'her finn me Gudsorde reint og klaart.'"⁶²

And the following may be quoted on the necessity of having respect for one's parents and for people in general.

"Langt liv kan berre det folk vente, som held uppe vurnaden for far og mor, og vurnaden for det aa vera far og mor; vurnaden for live og livsvokstren. Sæle dei folki som ikkje fær for mykje byar."'⁶³

We should rejoice in the beauty which has been bestowed upon flowers and human beings:

"Men det fagre er paradis-minninger som me ikkje skal drive fraa oss; og gudsydning er det aa gleda seg i guds verk."'⁶⁴

We must not send the country boys to the city, but prepare them for useful work at home. Norway must get political independence. Swedes and "Home-Danes"—Riksmal people—fight over the land, while the young people leave for America.

Certain elements in religion must fall: the trinity, for instance.⁶⁵

We must have something to do in life to get meaning into life.

"Men var det ein som ikkje kunde hjelpe og tena — han fann ikkje meining i sit liv, um han so rota seg igjennom alle filosofiar."'⁶⁶

That is, in disinterested helpfulness and service lies the secret of happiness.

What do we know about the ultimate problems and values?

"Det me veit er, at som det er laga, so er det. Me kjenner den Verdi me hev og nyttar det live me fekk; naar me nyttar det rett, far det meining for seg; for resten syter grunnherren, faderen."'⁶⁷

⁶¹ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. IV, p. 421.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 423.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 442.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

The following quotation sums up the main idea of the book:

"Me skal vera gode med kvarandre, so vil gud vera god med oss. Og no veit eg, at i dei barnslege ordi ligg heile kristendomen. For det er born me skal vera. Ikkje gruvle; taka kvar morgon paa med livsens leik og vera med i den; og gjera kvar sitt til at leiken kan bli god; daa vert dagane heller for stutte enn for lange. Og innhald vert der i den aalvorsame leik."⁶⁸

12. We shall now consider a book and a pamphlet in which Garborg treats the religious problem out and out, not in the form of fiction but openly and in the first person. The book is *Jesus Messias* (Christiania, 1906), and the pamphlet is *Den burtkomne Messias* (Christiania, 1907). He tells us in the Introduction to *Jesus Messias* that so much tradition and so many dogmas have grown up about Christ that it is hard to get a clear idea of what he really was. One must therefore go back to the source, that is, go back to the New Testament, and read without any special theological bias, in order to get to the real Christ.

"Men det er vandt aa lesa i den boki naar ein fysst hev gjengi i skule hjaa dei kunnige. Eg laut hjelpe til med pennen: skrive upp det eg las; og langt um lengi tok det til aa gry for meg; eg fekk samanhang i det som i fygstningi ser so raadlaust ut for ein kristeleg upplærd: Messias-sogo.

"Her legg eg daa denne sogo fram som eg no ser ho; kannhende kunde eg paa den maaten arge ein og annan so vidt upp, at han tok til aa lesa i bibelen. Og det kynde han hava godt av. For ein kann segja kva ein vil: me er enno ikkje ferduge med bibelen."⁶⁹

Jesus Messias is an examination of the New Testament and especially of the four gospels. It is a plea for independent work in the Bible, aside from what interpretations the theological professors and the established church may have put upon the various parts of the Christian religion. The results reached are essentially that Christ was a great teacher, a great leader, an inspiring person, but not divine in the usual sense of the word. The book was a severe disappointment to religious people; they had hoped that Garborg was on the way to becoming "converted."

Den burtkomne Messias is a forty-six page pamphlet in which Garborg answers some criticisms passed upon *Jesus Messias*. A few quotations from this pamphlet will be in place.

"Det er soleis sant, at eg hjaa Jesus finn svar paa (det etiske) livsspursmaale; etter ymis leiting i aust og vest lyt eg tilstaa, at so vidt som eg kann sjaa er Jesu livslære den einaste som—i alle tilfelle—gjev innhald, 'meining' i live vaart.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

⁶⁹ *Jesus Messias*. Introduction.

"Spursmaale um 'meining i tilvære' er det verre med."⁷⁰

"Den heidningkyrkjelege umdiktning [How Christ the *man* became *God*] av Jesus fraa Nasaret er baade historisk og psykologisk umogeleg; det hev eg i *Jesus Messias* paavist etter bibelen (som lesin utan teologbrillur tydeleg viser det), og etter kyrkjesogo, som hev det avgjerande aastale 325."⁷¹

"I staden for aa høyre etter kva Jesus sagde, hev verdi no i snart tvo tusund aar trætta med seg sjølv um kven Jesus var; og i staden for Jesu lære hev me fengi lera um Jesus."⁷²

It is necessary to counteract the influence of the official State Church from time to time:

"at ein ikkje læt folke staa altfor verjelaust mot *rabies theologorum*, som med si ugudelege helviltære fyller galnehus og sjølvdraap-listur meir enn forsvarlegt er, serleg hjaa oss, der folke bur einslegt og spreidt, og dertil er aalvorsamt av natur, so at altfor mange kjem innpaa gruvling og tunge tankar."⁷³

Garborg says about the plan and purpose of *Jesus Messias*:

"Min bog er *historisk*; dens formaal er at fremstille den israelitiske messias-tanke, saaledes som denne ifølge evangeliene træder frem gennem Jesus fra Nazareth."⁷⁴

Garborg was told that in *Jesus Messias* he had not given the complete Christ. He answers:

"Men nu var det tilfældigvis den evangeliske [not the "kirkelige"] Jesus og kun ham, jeg vilde have frem."⁷⁵

"Den bibelske Jesus er etter kyrkjetrui ikkje so mykje som 'ein halv Jesus'; den Kristus, kyrkja hev bygt seg, er ei triening: den evangeliske Messias plus den paulinske sonaren plus den heidning-kyrkjelege gud."⁷⁶

What is the origin—complete origin—of our Christian Church?

"Men den heile sanning kjem ikkje fram, fyrr det vert sagt beint ut, at den heidning-kristelege kyrkja er bygd paa det berge som heiter Paulus. Og det maa ikkje verte gløymt, at i Nikæa og i Konstantinopel, der vart taarni til den kyrkja reiste."⁷⁷

With the following two quotations I shall leave *Den burtkomne Messias*.

"Enno er helvite grunnen under protestant-kyrkja. Og som Messias i Rom kom burt attum pavestolen, soleis kom han i Nordlandi burt altum prestekjolar og bokskaap."⁷⁸

⁷⁰ *Den burtkomne Messias*, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

"Den sanne Messias talar gjennom den gløymde bibelen enno det orde som hev magt til aa frelse verdi: du skal elske, unne, din næste som du elskar, unner, deg sjølv. Kjem verdi nokon gong so langt at ho kann høyre og skyna dette frelsarorde?"⁷⁹

13. I shall now discuss briefly two books, published at different times, but which really form one continuous work. These are *Haugtussa* (Christiania, 1895) and *I Helheim* (1901). *Haugtussa* is one of the most strikingly original things in Norwegian literature. Garborg is, as we have seen, a merciless realist, a keen critic, a man of action, and at the same time a lyric poet and a dreamer. How can these seemingly incompatible elements be combined in one and the same person? In the first place let us make allowance for *genius*, which escapes all formulas and classifications, that spark of something which makes the superior person what he is. Then what remains? The environment—physical and cultural. Garborg was driven into realism by his strong feeling for genuine values and by his intellectual probity; but he did not feel at ease, feel at home in the midst of realism. Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* did what Garborg has done in several of his works; but as Flaubert wrote *la Tentation de saint Antoine* so Garborg wrote *Haugtussa* and *I Helheim* to escape from the cruel prosiness of life. Where did Garborg get his imagery from, his fairy-lore, and the material for these books? In the western part of Norway the people have a vague belief in all sorts of fairies and hobgoblins. The language in these districts reflects this state of mind. In a certain West-Norwegian dialect *byting*—changeling—means an ugly person. Why? Because it was thought that the trolls would exchange their ugly children for human children. Again it was said that a person who acted peculiarly was *haugteken*. Why? Because those who were taken into the mountains by the trolls, and ever got out again, would, it was thought, be half-witted. People in a way believed the mountains to be inhabited by trolls. These trolls used to capture people outright or persuade them to come to them into the mountains. Once there they would be offered the drink of oblivion. It was held that the ringing of church bells would free the people thus physically and mentally imprisoned. Again it was believed—and really believed—that people had the gift of second sight. I once had a personal experience of this. A man from one of the farms neighboring to my father's was

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

supposed to have this faculty, and many stories were told of how he saw trolls, devils, and spirits of all sorts. Compare in this connection *Den Fremtsynte* of Jonas Lie and *Vise Knut*.⁸⁰ Again people held that to remove a piece of a cross from a churchyard and to burn it in a certain house would make that house haunted by the ghost of the person over whose grave the cross stood. People used the word *feig* (Scotch: *fey*) in the sense that the person to which the word was applied was shortly to die; and such a person's queer actions were called *feigdafure*. If one dreamed of little children, it was held that one would hear of someone's death (*spørja døande*). Shortly before one's death, people might hear singing as of funeral hymns or pounding as of driving nails into the coffin; this was called *førefær*. All these ideas are current in the present writer's native district of Tysnes in Western Norway. Space forbids me to give more, but I hope enough has been said to show that Garborg did not "invent" outright the main elements, the cultural background of *Haugtussa* and *I Helheim*. Garborg illustrates in these art products a point which deserves mention, namely that it is not necessary for a genius to go far afield for his material, but merely to carry into artistic form the common property of the nation or the particular region.

Garborg has studied spiritism. He wrote a series of articles on this subject in *Samtiden* of the year 1893. He shows himself thoroughly acquainted with this form of thought. But we need not suppose that the books which we are to consider here grew, in any way, out of his spiritualistic studies. The imagery in *Haugtussa* and in *I Helheim* seems as "natural" and "possible" to a West Norwegian as does the imagery in Hauptmann's *Sunken Bell* to a German.

Haugtussa is a series of poems in various forms. Some have a form resembling that of the ballad, with repetitions of certain lines and a regularly recurring refrain:

"Gjentunn' breider der Gutann' slær;
so ropar dei til kvarandre og lær.
—Me veit, naar det er so laga—.

"Ja lett det gjeng med Lentur og Fjas
paa Vollen der i det fallne Gras.
—Me veit, naar det er so laga—.

⁸⁰ For an interesting account of the life of Vise Knut see *Knut Rasmussen Nordgarden eller Visknut*, by Johannes Skard, Chr., 1898.

"Og skjemte og fjasa,—lat gaa med det;
det gjer eg kanskje ein Gong, eg med.
—Me veit, naar det er so laga—." ⁸¹

"Du skal ikkje føle den mjuke Nott,
daa Draumen slær ut sine Vengir
i linnare Ljos enn Dagen hev aatt
og Tonar fraa stillare Strengir.

Det voggar um Lid,
det svævest av Strid,
og Dagen ei kjenner den Sæle-Tid." ⁸²

* * *

"Fram dansar den Haugkall fager og blaa
med Gullring um Haare som fløymer;
han giljar for Veslemøy til og fraa,
Og Tonar ikring honom strøymer.

'Aa hildrande du!
Med meg skal du bu;
i Blaahaugen skal du din Sylvrokk snu.' ⁸³

Others have the form of the alliterative verse of the *Elder Edda*:

—"Maal kved Gumle.
um Gamle-Ave.
Daa raadde Risar
Heims-Ringen.
Natti laag
nifs yvi Land.
Inkje Maane.
Inkje Stjernur.
Nordskin braga
um breide Bre.
Dal og Dokk
i Duld drøynde." ⁸⁴

The main character of *Haugtussa* and *I Helheim* is *synsk* (has second-sight), and for that reason she is called *Haugtussa*. ⁸⁵

—"Sidan saag ho
i Haug, paa Voll,
baade Nisse og Nøkk,
baade Draug og Troll
og Gasten med Haari lange.

⁸¹ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. V, p. 42.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸⁵ *Haug*—hill—is the place where the girl lives. *Tussa* may be connected with the words *tusse*, *tuss'n*, *tussa*—hobgoblin, hobgoblins; or with the word *tussete*, which means more or less demented.

"Tidt mullande gjekk ho
med myrke Ord
og Skræmde stundom
si eigi Mor;
dei sa ho vanta paa Vite.

"I Lyngmarki nord
millom Haugar tri,
der gjekk ho gjætte
si meste Tid.
Og Haugtussa vart ho heitand."⁸⁶

She sees deeper than other people, hence suffers more.

" 'Gud trøyste deg daa,
du Veslemøy;
det vore deg betre
du maatte døy,
so fingje du Fred i Jordi!'

" 'Aa heller vil eg
med Augo sjaa,
enn dauv og blind
gjenom Verdi gaa
og ikkje det sanne skilja!'"⁸⁷

What is gold and glitter to them appears to her in its true nature. She loves, but loses her lover. She is tempted hard by powers of darkness within and without, but wins earth's greatest victory—the victory over one's self. In love and large sympathy she forgives the woman who took from her her lover. She becomes the respected and loved friend of the people in the glen. But before she reaches the stage of clarified vision and noble self-abnegation, she must make her descent into *Helheim*, the realm of the shades (*I Helheim*). This part of the work reminds one of Dante's *Hell* in the *Divine Comedy*. As Dante is accompanied by Virgil, so the Norwegian peasant girl is accompanied by a *volva*, who explains everything. Shall we say that Garborg has imitated Dante? Such an assumption lies near at hand, but let us believe Garborg's own words when he says:

"Enno hev eg ikkje lesi Dante; og dette er berre ikkje skam, men hev og vorti meg til skade; i 'Helheim'-kvade mitt skal eg ha teki med sumt, som og er med i 'Guddomssongen,' segjer bokdomarar." (Merknad 1904)⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. V, pp. 23-24.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸⁸ *Knudahei-brev*. Chr., 1904.

That is, Garborg had not read Dante's *Divine Comedy* when he wrote *I Helheim*. Garborg got his idea in part from *Völuspá*, also *Baldrs Draumar*, and the wise and prophetic *volva* from the Old Norse mythical literature in general.

In this work Garborg shows himself in possession of a powerful imagination. In the descriptions of the horrors and punishments in Helheim, he can scarcely be said to have been outdone by the great Italian. Gislaug, the "heroine" of *Haugtussa*, is taken through the lower world. She is shown how false and futile so many of our most vaunted values are. We wrangle about "true faith" and "right beliefs," but the question asked on the day of judgment is *what hast thou done to make life more happy for thy fellow creatures?* It is impossible to give an adequate idea of this book. It is full of the most powerful imagery, proverbial sayings, longing for righteousness, truth and a truly Christ-like love for humanity. The language is strikingly rich and of the most bewitching melody. There is a complete mastery over the form. In *Haugtussa* and in *I Helheim* we have a modern tale of soul-struggles and salvation in terms of simple peasant life with a background of fairy-lore and mythological and Christian imagery.

The following beautiful lines will give an idea of the philosophy of life and the "way of salvation" presented in *I Helheim*. *Veslemøy* (Haugtussa), while in her trance, asks her sister how so many of these poor earth-creatures could win their way into Glory.

Veslemøy

"Sæle mi Syster, du segje meg sant
det no eg vil deg beda:
kor kann desse arme Mannaborn
naa denne høge Gleda?

"Den Kvardags Stakkar full av Synd
og urein og stygg og fæl,
kor kann han her i Ljos faa kvile,
kvitklædd og rein og sæl?

Systeri

"Den Kvardags Stakkar med Syndi si
seg inn i den Reinleik tøygde,
so ofte han paa si Stakkars Vis
i Kjærleik sin Vilje bøygde.

"Dei muna seg fram ein Mun, so tidt
dei døyvde eit eggjande Ord,
og mana burt ein Illske-Tanke,
og Hemnsverk fraa seg Svor.

"So tidt dei gløyvde sitt eigi
og Store-Kravi lydde;
so tidt dei styrkte det fagre paa Jord
og ufint og ufjelgt flydde.

"Kvar Gong dei vann paa vesalt og vondt
dei klæddest i Reinleiks Skrud;
og naar dei auka Fred paa Jordi,
dei var ein Straale av Gud."⁸⁹

There is one part of *Hauglussa* which merits special mention, and that is the part called *Paa Skare-Kula*. Here we get a witches' sabbath, a sort of festive assemblage of demons, witches, evil-doers, —all the powers of darkness. The poet makes use of the situation to deliver himself of a goodly number of thrusts and sharp criticisms. Most of the creatures which foregather on *Skare-Kula* have a symbolic meaning.

Halvnaki Trollkjering

"Paa Viddi med meg flyg tryllte Gut,
til hold og Heile blotnar;
sistpaa sit han i einsleg Sut
med reivar um arm og rotnar

Brille-Kjering

"Eg vil at Live visnar i Knupp;
daa skal me snart oss hevja;
eg vekte Kvinna or Svevnen upp
og lærde henne krevja.

"No gjeng ho sterk sin Krevjarveg;
ut vil ho allting teige;
og berre daa vil ho gifte seg,
naar Mannen vil Borni eige.

Trollmannen Likeglad

"Det lite er um den sterke Kar,
naar av han hogger Neven;
eg preikar Fred i Hønssegard,
fyr eg hev bundi Reven.

⁸⁹ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. V, pp. 276-277.

Trollmann med eit Ris

"Eg trollar i Haug dei leikande Smaa'
og klæd dei i Tralebroki;
naar ut dei kjem kann dei inkje sjaa;
eg batt dei for Augo med Boki."⁹⁰

Svartebrødrar

"Me sutrar Salmar og Bønir gneg
og mullar Lov og Vangilje,
til Folk trur dette er Livsens Veg,
og gløymer Livsens Vilje."⁹¹

14. Before I pass to the closing chapter, I want to say a word about *Uforsonlige* (Kjhn., 1888), *Jonas Lie* (Chr., 1893), and *Fjell-Luft* (Chr., 1903). The first of these books is a play which deals with the political situation in Norway at the time of the writing. It is possible to recognize behind the mask of names the then political leaders in Norway. The play is written in Danish. It is not a particularly strong play: the characters and the plot are lost in large stretches of minute dialogue. As to the spirit, one may say that Garborg has as dark a view on politics as Ibsen had in *The League of Youth*.

Jonas Lie is a study of the author by that name. It will suffice us here to say that Garborg in his criticism of this writer emphasizes the *race* and the *milieu*. The book is written in Danish and forms a very suggestive and appreciative study of Jonas Lie. Garborg lets the author define himself by his works. He aims to make clear and to explain, and not so much to judge the art product by certain immutable, traditional laws of a "school." Comparisons are odious, he holds.

"Overhoved hører mandjevning lidet hjemme i en kritik, der vil være moderne. Hver individualitet er egentlig kun at maale med sit eget maal. At sige, hvem der er f. ex. 'størst' af den og den digter, er ofte ligesaa vanskeligt som at afgjøre, hvad der er længst: en fastepræken eller en reberbane."⁹²

Fjell-Luft is a collection of short stories written at various times. The first one, *Sjø*, was written in 1886 and refers to the death of O. Fjørtoft. *Han Lars i Lia*, written 1893 is a witty little sketch in which the Norwegians are charged with procrastination. When

⁹⁰ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. V, pp. 86-87.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁹² *Jonas Lie*, p. 193.

such a Norwegian farmer as *Lars* has ruined the farm through laziness, he says:

"Ja so piskede fær eg kje til Amerika!"

Paa hi Sida, written 1902, contains a whole life experience in most beautiful language.

CONCLUSION

Garborg is a deeply and sincerely religious nature. Call it weakness or call it strength, the fact remains that Garborg feels the need of religion. *Need* in what way? Not so much to "save the soul," perhaps, as to give sanctity to life, meaning to existence, and to furnish us a working-ideal of brotherhood and love. But Garborg comes—as we have seen—for a home where narrow, but absolutely sincere, piety reigned. The Bible is in its entirety true, the world is a "vale of tears," this life is a preparation and a journey, salvation is the "one necessary thing"; worldly position, pomp, and glory, amount to nothing. It was wrong to examine too closely into God's mysteries ("Stikka naso idn i gus hemmeleheite"). All that gave life value is connected with the soul; all manners and social intercourse are taught on a religious basis. It was a religious system which demanded *all or nothing*. Such an early religious training made it impossible for Garborg to understand the religion of convenient accommodations which many cultured Christians have in this day and age. Religion to him was either the narrow Puritanic system or—nothing; and since it could not long be the former, it became for years the latter.

Garborg has an unusually keen mind, which he early stimulated with a great variety and large amount of reading.³³ He could not, therefore, remain with unthinking ease in the religious system of his childhood home. The strict religious discipline which he was subjected to at home made great changes in his character.

"... At mine fyrste Aar var ei god Tid skynar eg av at eg daa var glad i alt og alle som eg hadde med aa gjera; og ikkje minst i 'n Far. Sidan vart det annarleis.

"Vendingi skulde vori god. Det var Kristindomen som fekk Skuldi for ho. Men Skuldi hadde nok mindre Kristindomen enn Kristiandomen, eller

³³ See *Knudakei-brev*, Chr., 1904, pp. 156-159.

Kyrkjelæra fraa Kristian den sette si Tid. Det var den som no var komi til Magt paa Jæren.

"Heime vart alt snutt um. I 'Fred' er Sogo fortald, sant i alt som det gjeld um; her skal eg berre freiste aa faa med noko meir um meg sjølv.

"Det ser ut for meg som eg reint hev vorti umskapt i den Tidi. Eg hev vorti tagall for røddall, og drøymen for djerv, og gruvlesjuk for glad og tiltaksam. Og um mangt eit Hugskifte gjenom Uppvokstren kann koma 'av seg sjølv,' so hev vel dette mitt havt ymist Samanheng med det aandelege Luftskifte heime.

"Eg vart beintfram upptamd til Drøymar ved alt dette 'Gudsord.' Luther og Johan Arndt og Francke og høgsæle Bispn Brockmann og kva dei alle heitte, dei vart so lange for meg at noko laut eg finne paa, skulde eg klara deim."⁹¹

"Men i det heile var det stilt i Huse, og myrkt. Mest laut eg liva paa mine eigne Draumar.

"Og deim livde eg paa. Stasa deim til og tøygde deim ut og gjorde deim um att og um att so dei varde mest æveleg. Det var ikkje vanlege Barnedraumar; det vart Sjukdom. Og ei Magt kunde dette Draumtulle faa, so eg stundom heiltupp gløymde Røyndomslive."⁹²

Garborg early made attempts to "get right with God," and he has repeated them not infrequently through the years; and not so much for personal comfort as to save the dignity and nobility of human life.

"Eg heldt meg sjølv til Jahve i dei Tidine daa eg stræva med aa umvende meg.

"For eg stræva med dette stundom; og det ikkje so lite heller.

"Hugen til det gode var det vel knapt som dreiv meg. Sterke Branskil-dringar fraa Helvite gjorde meir, og so dertil Daudebod, helst slike som kom uventande, eller nære-fraa, eller liksom med serskild Ærend til meg; soleis naar Jamnaldringar døydde.

"Visst er det: eg fekk Aalvor for meg sume Tidir. Daa let eg Draumane fara og stæva med aa koma i Samfund med Gud.

"Eg skulde vita Vegen. Han Far las og fortalde um denne Vegen for oss kvar Sunday; og seinare, daa eg kom i Skulen att, fekk eg 'Saliggjørelsens Orden' gjenomgjengin der med, av den eine Skulemeistaren klokare enn den andre.

"Men endaa var Vegen ugreid for meg. Og vart so verande alltid. Den tridje Artikel var i det heile vrang; og det um Hugvendingi og 'Saliggjørelsens Orden' var det verste. Eg kunde ikkje lære det forutto dessmeir, annarleis enn so vidt eg greidde det til den Dagen paa Skulen daa me skulde 'ha det.' Det var det, maa-tru, at vaar naturlege Forstand var ved Syndi formørket.

"Men eg fekk beda. Slike Bønir skulde Gud alltid høyre, sagde dei. Stundom saag eg au etter i Forklaaringi um 'Saliggjørelsens Orden.'

"Men Bønine mine hjelppte ikkje. Eg kunde beda so aalvorsamt eg vilde; Hjelp kom det ikkje, so vidt som eg kunde forstaa.

⁹¹ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. VII, pp. 240-241.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

"So hugsa eg at ein laut vera umvend, um ein skulde kunna beda rett. Kva Raad var her daa? Beda Gud hjelpe meg beda? Eg freista med det. Men hugsa snart, at ein kunde vel ikkje beda rett um det heller fyrr ein var umvend.

"Det vart daa ikkje onnor Raad enn at eg fekk springe yvi Boni so lengi. Eg fekk tru at Gud vilde hjelpe meg likevel, naar han saag det var Aalvor med meg. For han vilde at me skulde umvende oss og komme til Sandheds Erkjendelse.

"Men so kom det verste. Anger yvi Syndi maatte til. Utan den var det ingin Veg aa koma. Eg stræva svart med Angeren. I 'Fred' hev eg fortalt um Enok Hove og hans Angerstræv; det meste der er teki fraa meg sjølv."⁹⁶

"Eg hev gjort ikkje so reint faae slike Tiltak frametter Aari. Og dei vart meir aalvorsame etterkvart, av di eg meir og meir ræddast for denne gaatefulle Syndi mot Anden eller 'Forhærdelsen.' Men alltid naar eg hadde stridt ei Stund med aa koma til Gud dovna det av med meg att; i Grunnen hadde eg ikkje noko hjaa Gud aa gjera."⁹⁷

Garborg gives the following "inventory" of his mind in these early years.

"Forunderleg urydigt hev det sett ut i Hausen min daa eg i Fyrstningi av mitt sekstande Aar stod mi fyrste Lærarprove. Skuleklokskap, Pietisme, Diktdraumar, Fantevisdom, Ibsen og ymist anna rart laag og brautst inn-paa Myrkelofte mitt; men med Lærarprova gjekk det godt; og 16 Aar gamall fekk eg 'Post'; skulde med Hovude fullt av Barnaskap og Tull vera Lærar og Uppfostrar."⁹⁸

Garborg wrote in 1872 a poem in *Lærerstandens Avis* called *Tvileren*. We have here a view of the doubter, the freethinker, and, while Garborg must not be identified with this "freethinker," the poem nevertheless shows us that Garborg already was familiar with doubts and misgivings. The poem is the bitter wail of one who feels that with his loss of religion all the values and aims and purposes of life have likewise departed. I quote here the first stanza.

"Ak, vidste jeg bare en eneste Kvist
At hvile min vaklende Fod paa!
En Grundvold sikker og uden Brist
At bygge mit bævende Bod paa!
Ak, vidste jeg bare den Ting paa Jord,
Som Sindet fik samle og styrke,
En eneste Ting, som var ren og stor
Og maned min Kraft til Yrke."⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Skrifter i Samling*, Vol. VII, pp. 253-254.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁹⁹ *Illustreret Norsk Litteraturhistorie*, p. 894.

Garborg begins his career by defending Christianity against Jaabæk and Georg Brandes.

"Om Kristus angribes, da gjælder det kamp til blodet."¹⁰⁰

In 1878 we find him saying that Christianity cannot have a place of special privilege and immunity from criticism.

"... Stengja tankar ute er i lengdi likso vandt som aa stengja fraa seg lufti. —Ætti maa *tenkja sine tankar ut*, der er raadlaust med det. Ho er mindre 'sæl' og hev meir sut og kav og strid ved dette; men kavet og strævet høyrer med til livet likso vel som sæla.

"... Du kann ikkje velja kristendomen blindt. Du maa *prøva* um lærdomen er av Gud. Du maa *prøva* alt og velja ut det gode.—Men naar kristendomen sjølv set upp den frie gransking til grunn- og drivtanke, so hev ingen rett til aa leggja band paa henne."¹⁰¹

In a lecture which Garborg gave in *Studentersamfundet* in 1881, he said:

"Man ender med at erkjende, at den som ikke længer kan tro paa barnets vis, han maa tænke paa mandens.

"Alle mellemstandpunkter har vist sig uholdbare, alle forsøg paa at opstille særlige erkjendelsesmaader i det religiøse har ført ud i selvmodsigelse og selvbedrag.

"Der blev intet andet igjen end at lade den frie forskning, den uholdede undersøgelse være det ledende princip ogsaa for den religiøse erkjendelse."¹⁰²

The emphasis is now upon *reason* as against the attitude of *credo quia absurdum*.

In *Nyt Tidsskrift*, 1883, pp. 427-448, Garborg has a book review of Heuch's *Vantroens Væsen*. This article gives us a precious insight into Garborg's religious condition and beliefs at the time. The spirit is slightly arrogant and somewhat bitter. The attitude is that of one who places much confidence in thought and logic. He lays bare with unmerciful acumen the contradictions of Christian apologetics which abound in the book reviewed. If the pastor (Heuch) would take pains to investigate, he would find that the "infidels" are about agreed that "det religiøse—til dato ialfald—er det, der ligger—udenfor grænserne af de 'tvingende slutninger'" (p. 436). Christians have many fine answers—taken out of the Bible—for all manner of things, but in reality they know no more than the rest of us about the eternal things (p. 437).

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in *Syn og Segn*, Jan. 1911, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in *Syn og Segn*, Jan. 1911, p. 25.

¹⁰² Quoted in *Syn og Segn*, Jan. 1911, p. 26.

It is easy for the unsophisticated and ignorant to believe in Christian dogmas.

"Faktisk er det forholdsvis let for uvidenheden og naiviteten at overgive sig til den [Christian dogmas], medens reflektertheden og intelligensen (jeg mener ikke den norske intelligens) har mindst talt—svart for at gjøre det" (p. 439).

Garborg sees clearly the questionable nature of Christian logic. He realizes that faith may be sweet to those who are so constituted mentally as to have it; but he directly states, or strongly implies, that faith is something that must grow less and less abundant with the advance of clear thinking and culture. And in the following quotation we have Garborg's idea of the proper, essential nature of the intellectually worthy and self-respecting man.

"Og menneskets, det til virkelig menneskehed udviklede menneskes, væsen er dette: at bøje sig for sandheden overalt, hvor den erkjendes, selv om den er aldrig saa haard at gaa paa for den 'egoistiske vilje,'—men ogsaa først at bøje sig, naar sandheden har godtgjort sig for den menneskelige bevisthed selv *som sandhed*" (pp. 430-431).

We have above the intellectual *credo* of Garborg.

Garborg's standpoint at this time was—as indeed it has continued to be in its essentials to this day—that happiness is not the most important thing, but worthiness, however much weak flesh may squirm. We are looking for values that shall be able to stand the most profound and rigid scrutiny of human reason, and which neither ask for, nor need, immunity on the ground of their sanctity or super-sensuous, super-natural, super-rational nature. Thought must be free, free to lead us wheresoever it rightly leads—even unto the death of the body and the destruction of our patched-up happiness. No considerations of mere expedience must be allowed to interfere with the logical development of a thought or line of reasoning, or make us shrink from a conclusion which follows necessarily from true premises. Thought cannot, and should not, be controlled by anything else than—more thought. It is in the deepest sense a "law unto itself." If it is said that thought is but a weak thing, that our human reason is no light but rather a stain on the mighty darkness which surrounds us, the answer must be: It is the best we have, however imperfect it may be; and in determining its very imperfection, we still have to appeal to it. To what else could we appeal?

But Garborg could not long rest content with mere intellectu-

alism. Man does not live by reason alone. It was not long before he felt like exclaiming with Pascal: "*Tais-toi, raison imbécile!*" He then turned to seek satisfaction in the beauty of art. However, art increases our longing, but brings us no wings. He tried science. But science gives us pompous hypotheses and theories, and has precious little to say about what we would most like to know.

Garborg has tried many solutions to the problems of life. He has a fine, sympathetic study of Nietzsche in *Syn og Segn* for 1895; but Garborg does not accept his solution, his scorn for the "common rabble," his poetic adoration for and visionary faith in the *Uebermensch*.

What then? Tolstoy's solution? Garborg has in *Syn og Segn*, 1896, a study on Tolstoy, in which he treats with feeling and understanding the idea of a return to Christ, the teacher, and to the simple life of the peasants, in which life honest work is performed and where existence has—in a limited sense at least—a meaning. I am not saying that Garborg was converted by the teachings of the great Russian. He may have profited by the suggestions of Tolstoy, but for the main part he came to similar results independently.¹⁰³ Garborg, as well as Tolstoy, is deeply religious; both have become more and more prophets and teachers while continuing to be supreme literary artists.

In an article in *Samtiden* for 1895 we find the following dark view of things.

"Jeg har brudt mit hoved i et fjerdedels aarhundrede og er nu sikker paa, at pessimismen har ret.

"Endnu har jeg ikke stødt paa, ei heller kunnet udspekulere, nogen positiv verdensforklaring, som ikke faldt sønder og sammen for den første straafe af alvorlig kritik, saa snart denne blev rettet mod dens afgjørende punkt, dens sidste og højeste *cui bono*. Intet system, ingen teori, ingen læresætning eller formel, som søger en 'mening i livet,' kan bestaa. Den opløser sig ubarmhjertigt i tomhed.

"Der gives ikke engang nogen religion, som kan hjælpe os. Vi har jo alle en stille svaghed for kristendommen; den maa jo siges at give et slagssvar paa de 'store spørgsmaal.' Men selv om vi stryger dens dualisme og lader den lære almindelig og evig salighed, staar tilværelsens gaade uforklaret alligevel. En himmel, saadan som den læres, vilde—efter Schopenhauers slemme, men oprigtige udtryk—blive den uendelige Langeweile. Vi maatte tænke os saligheden som den absolute ro, i.e., individualitetens ophævelse. Den mest ration-

¹⁰³ See *Samtiden* for 1911, where Hulda Garborg maintains that Garborg was not "converted" by Tolstoy.

elle af alle religiøs-moralske systemer opfatter den da ogsaa ganske rigtig saa. Nirwana er afslutningen af al kamp, ophævelsen af al indskrænkning, individets flyden over i det uendelige alt, i.e., intet. Men denne 'livsforklaring' blir da altsaa simpelthen pessimismens. Livets maal er at ophæve sig selv.

"De fleste, som ræsonnerer over disse ting, gaar ikke tilbunds i tingen. Dels fordi de ikke er istand til det, dels fordi de ikke i tilstrækkelig grad har 'den erkjendendes mod' eller—for at tale endnu mere Nietzsche'sk—hans 'grusomhed.' Rent instinktmæssig skulker tanken unna, naar det kniber. Den liker ikke at møde sin store antithese, ufornuften, tomheden, logikens satan, der—som teologiens—faktisk er langt sterkere end sin gud. Man finder altid i det afgjørende øieblik en eller anden sky at drage for; i den lader man da solen byrde sig med allehaande skjønhed og forgyldning. Hvor paa tankens og livets seier proklameres med sang og klang. Men om nogen tid stikker Mefisto sit hoved ind tvers gennem samme sky og spør med sit forbindtligste smil, om han maaske kan være de damer og herrer paa nogen maade til tjeneste.

"Skal vi tale ganske fornuftmæssigt og ganske oprigtigt, saa er det virkelig bare en smagssag, om man vil gjøre opbud selv og overgive sit bo, eller om man vil vente de par aar, til rettens mand kommer."¹⁰⁴

But from now on the views are less gloomy and hopeless. The idea now is to work for the native land, work for social reform, the establishment of the Norwegian national speech, in short, *earnest endeavor along humanly possible lines.*

Garborg is one of those who are more inclined to analyze life than to live it. He has, in his transition from the narrow religious system of his childhood to his present standpoint, suffered much; but all this suffering has deepened his nature. Sorrow and suffering is good for a strong person. If there is strength enough in the character, the heart is not dried up, the will is not lamed, and one comes out of the struggle more profound, more sympathetic, more largely human and humane. It is only the weak that break under the strain and become embittered.

Garborg has never been a mere irreverent mocker. Disrespectful treatment of fundamental things is not a Norwegian trait. He has combatted the narrow religious system in which he was brought up, but he did so only because he felt such a course to be absolutely necessary. This religious system, though humble before God, is, as an influence in the world, essentially militant, intolerant, and despotic. It condemns in unmistakable terms whatever does not readily square with its program of life. It is in many ways inimical to a large, free, powerful unfolding of life; it looks askance

¹⁰⁴ Arne Garborg, "Troen paa livet." *Samtiden*, 1895, pp. 9-7.

at art as being a frivolous waste of time, if not actually a baneful worldly influence to turn minds away from God and the meditation upon the means of saving one's soul. Hence Ibsen, Bjørnson, and Garborg found it necessary to clear the stage and make room for themselves, in short, to get a place in the sun. They felt that man's nature must have room for the unhampered exercise of its legitimate powers and faculties, and that a social and religious system is bad when it hinders a free, and harmonious, development of the individual.

Garborg has always had a sincere longing for permanent values, for something which shall vindicate the sacredness of human life, and keep safe the meaning of the good, old words, *faith*, *hope* and *charity*. The religious basis of his early years gave way. What new basis could he find so that life might continue to be worthy and human effort be of value? Through years of sorrow and anguish Garborg has sought for some approving system, some faith, some guiding principle; and he has finally come back to a more or less complete reconciliation with life: Let us work in the *here* and *now* without too much questioning about the *why* and the *wherefore* of things—such seems to be his present standpoint.

ICELANDIC-AMERICAN PERIODICALS

Emigration from Iceland to America began about 1870, and in the year 1873 the number of emigrants was considerable. One half of them settled in Wisconsin, the other half in Ontario. The next year the latter were joined by some new arrivals from Iceland, but the land they had taken there, the Muskoka Lake region, apparently did not please them, for they soon began to look for a new home. A few went to Nova Scotia and got possession of a hilly, unfertile country, which, however, as they realized after some years of toil, gave little promise for the future. The majority of the Ontario Icelanders hopefully turned their eyes westward, and a delegation was sent to Manitoba to investigate conditions. The delegates found in the Northwest Territory land which they considered acceptable, where they advised the formation of an Icelandic colony. About 250 Icelanders moved from Ontario to this region, arriving there towards the end of October, 1875, and remaining throughout the winter in a place called Gimli. The colony, which was named New Iceland, was situated on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. Two agents were then sent by the Canadian government to Iceland to collect more settlers for the new colony, and it is estimated that in the years 1875 and 1876 some 1200 emigrants left Iceland for America. Several years later the Nova Scotia Icelanders also moved to Manitoba. Thus there were gradually formed small settlements of Icelanders in various parts of Canada and the United States. The one in Lyon County and Yellow Medicine County in Minnesota was probably the largest south of the Canadian border.

The New Iceland colony was at that time the principal centre for Icelanders in the western hemisphere, and it was therefore natural that the Icelandic-American periodical literature should there have its beginnings.¹ Fond of books and reading as the Icelanders have always been, they had brought their books with them from home.

¹ In this connection should be mentioned a paper antedating any of the Icelandic periodicals printed in America, which was exclusively devoted to information about Canada and the United States, and in which appeared many letters from Icelanders who had settled there. This was the paper *Amerika*; it appeared irregularly from December, 1873, to July, 1874, at Akureyri, Iceland, and was edited by Páll Magnússon, an agent for immigration from Iceland to America.

In spite of the primitive conditions under which they lived in the beginning, every household owned a small collection of volumes—a fact noted by Lord Dufferin, who at that time was governor general of Canada. He visited the colony in September, 1877, and having himself traveled in Iceland, he took great interest in these immigrants. In every house he entered he found a small library of some twenty or thirty books. It is easy to see that they could not long remain without a newspaper of their own. And on September 10, 1877, the first number of a four-page weekly appeared in Lund on the Icelandic River, Keewatin, Manitoba. It was called *Framfari*. The founder was Sigtryggur Jónasson, who had been most active in selecting the land and forming the colony. On the board of editors with him were Friðjón Friðriksson and Jóhann Briem. The publishers were The Printing Company of New Iceland.

In the leading article of the first number the editors say: "As soon as the Icelanders took to settling in considerable numbers in this hemisphere, they began to fear that they would lose here their language and their nationality unless they took some steps to preserve these. They have always agreed on two things as necessary to preserve this precious heritage of theirs. One was that the Icelanders should form a colony by themselves, the other that there should be published here in America a periodical in the Icelandic language. These things are so closely connected that it is not conceivable for the one to thrive without the other. Much has been said about the founding of Icelandic colonies, and experiments have been made in that direction in various parts of this country, but nothing of any consequence was done until this colony was established. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to publish a paper, although the Society of Icelanders in America, which was formed at the millennial celebration of the colonization of Iceland held at Milwaukee in 1874, had that as one of the principal things on their program." *Framfari* did not appear regularly every week; the first year 36 numbers were printed, the second year, 39. The last number is dated April 10, 1880. The discontinuance of the paper was due to lack of support; the number of subscribers never exceeded 600, and of these only 300 were in America.² All except the first eight numbers were edited by Halldór Briem, a graduate of the Theological Seminary in Reykjavík; he had first come to America as an interpreter with

² Cf. *Leifur*, I. árg. No. 1.

the emigrants, and afterwards returned to edit the paper and become minister of the gospel. He acquitted himself of the editorship with credit. The paper, of course, contained chiefly news—from Iceland, from Icelanders in America, and from the rest of the world to a limited extent. But in addition many editorials and articles appeared there dealing with various questions of importance to the settlers. Among them was the religious question, and the editor supported those who took issue with the Norwegian Synod. A few poems and a couple of short stories were printed there. One of the poems (An Emigrant's Farewell to Iceland, I. No. 19) is worthy of notice, not because of its literary value, but on account of the author's bitter attitude towards Iceland. In *Framfari* appeared the first poems of Kristinn Stefánsson, who holds a prominent place in the Icelandic-American literature. Some book reviews and a few literary articles were also included. On the whole, the paper was fairly well made up and carefully edited—which cannot be said of all of its successors.

In the meantime the number of Icelandic settlers in Winnipeg had been growing, and as they were in closer communication with the outside world than those who inhabited the somewhat inaccessible New Iceland, the next journalistic enterprise was entered upon by them. The second Icelandic newspaper in America was started in Winnipeg in the spring of 1883. It was called *Leifur*, after the first discoverer of the American continent, Leif the Lucky. Its proprietor and editor was Helgi Jónsson, who had been a prominent member of the Winnipeg colony since 1878. The first number is dated May 5, 1883. It was to appear weekly, as a small folio number of four pages. The paper and the printing of the first numbers were exceedingly bad, but they improved somewhat as time went on. The principal aim of the undertaking, as the editor expressed it in the first number, was, of course, to maintain the Icelandic nationality, to preserve the Icelandic tongue among the settlers, and to support Icelandic literature in America. Besides the current news, the paper contained a few original and translated poems and stories, some reprints from Icelandic periodicals, also articles on the various questions of the day, among which temperance as to drinking is discussed at considerable length. Neither *Leifur* nor *Framfari* took any special part in politics. But in *Leifur* unconcealed criticism of Icelandic conditions was often given and the first number of the second year opened with an appeal to

the Icelanders at home to leave their barren island and join their countrymen in America. Needless to say, such an attitude was resented in Iceland. The last number of *Leifur* appeared June 4, 1886, the paper thus having survived for three years.

These two papers were modeled after papers the emigrants had known in their native land. But with the appearance of the *Heimskringla*, September 9, 1886, we have a paper of much larger size, modeled after American papers. The founders and first editors of it were: Frimann B. Anderson, a former contributor to *Leifur*, Einar Hjörleifsson, a writer of note, who had recently arrived in America, and Eggert Jóhannsson, who had been associate editor of *Leifur*. They announced that *Heimskringla* would be the largest newspaper published in the Icelandic language, and that it would be particularly devoted to all subjects of importance to Icelandic-Americans, and would also deal at some length with conditions and affairs in the mother country; stories and poems and other entertaining and instructive articles, both original and translated, would to a considerable extent fill its columns. The editors explicitly state that the paper was in no way to act as an agent for emigration from Iceland; that subject was to be treated according to the convictions of the writer, he was not to follow any inspiration from without. The paper, indeed, represented a step forward in Icelandic journalism, and it was easy to see of how great benefit such a paper, if well managed, might be to newly-arrived Icelanders, who must have been ignorant of nearly everything here, and a large number of whom doubtless were unable to read or understand English. The section of the paper devoted to news was quite extensive; the articles on domestic affairs of various kinds were generally instructive and clearly written; more space, too, could now be devoted to matters of special interest to the Icelanders themselves, such as their organization, societies, language, and the like. Anderson was a writer of some ability, a self-made man, apparently of wide reading. But the paper soon had to face difficulties, and in December, 1886, had to suspend publication. In April, 1887, it reappeared, and since that time it has been published regularly as a weekly—for a long time one of four pages, but in later years of eight. At the end of the year 1887 Anderson had become the sole owner and editor of it, but he lost his best collaborator, Einar Hjörleifsson left the paper because of some difference of opinion and, together

with other Icelanders, among whom was Sigtryggur Jónasson, started at the beginning of 1888 a weekly called *Lögberg*, the first number of which appeared January 14, 1888. These men had bought the presses of *Framsari* and *Leifur*, so that in a way the new enterprise was a continuation or transformation of the New Iceland Printing Company. In the first number the editors repudiate the accusation that they wish to ruin the already existing weekly, saying that they merely want to invite a healthy competition. If it comes to a struggle of life and death, the best will survive; but they think there is a place for more than one paper. The program of *Lögberg* was naturally much the same as that of *Heimskringla*. It commenced as a weekly of four pages in large folio, but with the beginning of the third year each number had eight pages and it has so continued down to the present, except that for a short period it appeared in two numbers weekly, each of four pages. Einar Hjörleifsson remained editor until 1895, when he returned to Iceland. For a short while (1890-91) Jón Ólafsson, Iceland's leading journalist, was associated with him, but a disagreement led to the latter's leaving the paper and founding one of his own. This was *Öldin*, "an Icelandic weekly record of current events and contemporary thought," a small four-page paper which was published from October, 1890, to February, 1892, twenty-one numbers appearing in all.

To meet the competition with *Lögberg*, the owners of *Heimskringla* had called from Iceland Gestur Pálsson, novelist, poet, and journalist, to assume the editorship. He became editor in January, 1891, but his management of the paper was brief, as he died in August of the same year. In March, 1892, Jón Ólafsson became editor, his paper *Öldin* being united with *Heimskringla* under the title *Heimskringla og Öldin*; this lasted for a year or so, during which period it was published twice a week. Jón Ólafsson edited the paper until March, 1894. In 1898 Baldwin L. Baldwinson³ became editor, remaining so until 1913. The paper, with a short interruption, has since been edited first by Rögnvaldur Pétursson, and after him by Magnús J. Skaptason.

³ Mr. Baldwinson acted for several years as immigration agent for the Canadian government in Iceland, and from June, 1891, to April, 1894, edited a paper in Reykjavik, called *Landneminn*, devoted to "news from Canada and the Icelanders there."

When Einar Hjörleifsson left *Lögberg* the editorship passed to Sigtryggur Jónasson who retained it until 1901. Magnús Paulson succeeded him, being editor from 1901 to 1905. Stefán Björnsson, a graduate of the Theological Seminary in Reykjavík, edited it from 1905 to 1914, and since that time, with a brief intermission, Sigurður Júlíus Jóhannesson, poet and physician, has been the editor.

These two papers, *Heimskringla* and *Lögberg*, were for a number of years the largest newspapers printed in Icelandic; but in size they have now been surpassed by the daily papers which in the last years have been published in Iceland. The main part of the Icelandic settlers in America have doubtless been dependent upon them for an account of current events, and also for guidance in political and other public affairs. They have each supported one of the rival political parties, and each in turn been supported by one. *Lögberg* having been affiliated with the liberal party, and *Heimskringla* with the conservative. In other matters also they have been opposed to one another. *Lögberg* has leaned towards conservatism in all religious questions, and usually been in agreement with the Icelandic Lutheran Synod, while *Heimskringla* has been more liberal, and has opened its columns to religious discussion of all kinds. On the temperance question they seem to have agreed. But *Lögberg* has always maintained a higher literary standard than its competitor, having, on the whole, had the support of the more educated of the Icelanders. In the beginning it also enjoyed the advantage of having as its editor for a number of years a man of real literary distinction. The tradition Einar Hjörleifsson had established, his successors tried to live up to, but not always with success. His contributions to the paper were always well written, whether they were political editorials, reviews, stories, translations from foreign languages, or thrusts at his enemies. Many of the early *feuilletons* were translated by him, and he selected for that purpose works of a higher class than has been customary since. The *feuilletons* of both papers have usually consisted of long novels, later issued in book form under the general titles of *Bókasafn Lögbergs* and *Sögusafn Heimskringlu*. Recently they have been novels of an inferior sort, and the translations have frequently been bad. The printing of the papers has usually been tolerably good, but their columns have at times been disfigured by too violent personal quarrels between the editors and others, and it seems as if

that indecorous custom were still being kept up at the present time.

In April, 1893, the Heimskringla Printing and Publishing Company began to publish as a separate magazine, with Jón Ólafsson as the editor, the monthly *Öldin*, each number of 16 pages in octavo. The contents consisted chiefly of stories and poems, original and translated, entertaining and instructive articles on various topics, especially in natural science. Brief editorial notices were contributed to each number by the editor. Many poems by Stephan G. Stephanson, the leading Icelandic-American poet, appeared in its pages. Chapters of Matthías Jochumsson's translation of Topelius' *Feltskárn's berättelser* were published here for the first time. The last two volumes of the magazine were edited by Eggert Jóhannsson, who was then the editor of *Heimskringla*, but Jón Ólafsson continued to contribute to it. The December number of 1896 was the last to appear, the third volume then having been completed.

Lögberg printed for its subscribers an *Almanak* for the years 1888 and 1889, which contained nothing but the calendar. Six years later Ólafur S. Thorgeirsson, the Icelandic publisher of Winnipeg, began to publish a calendar in Icelandic. His first *Almanak* for 1895 was a very small pamphlet, which, besides the calendar, contained some useful information about every-day affairs; but as time went on, this publication gradually grew in size. Every year new features were added, and finally essays and stories of some length were included. This *Almanak*, which has now been in existence for twenty-one years, has come to be one of the most important Icelandic publications in the western hemisphere. It records year by year all events of importance among the Icelanders here, and in it is to be found the most complete history of the Icelanders in America yet printed. The editor has secured from reliable persons in the various Icelandic settlements throughout Canada and the United States an historical account of each of these settlements, with biographical sketches, and often with portraits of the settlers. These articles, when completed will form a new Icelandic "Landnámabók" which will be a most useful work for future historians and genealogists. Another almanac for the years 1898-99, under the title *Stjarnan*, was also printed in Winnipeg, edited by Stefán B. Jónsson. The reading matter in the two volumes which appeared consisted of information regarding practical affairs,

principally agricultural subjects. The third Icelandic *Almanak* (*The Maple Leaf Almanac*), published and edited by Sigfús B. Benedicsson, for the years 1900-05, was first printed in Selkirk, Manitoba, and later in Winnipeg. The last two volumes contain one or two articles on Icelandic American literature, but otherwise the contents are chiefly poetical productions, the editor himself being the principal contributor.

An Icelandic Socialist organ saw the light in Winnipeg at the opening of the twentieth century. This was *Dagskrá II*,⁴ edited by Sigurður Júlíus Jóhannesson, the present editor of *Lögberg*. It had very small beginnings, the first seven numbers being in small octavo of four pages, but it afterwards assumed a larger size. It was to be a weekly, but it never attained to that distinction, only 50 numbers being published during the year and a half of its existence (July, 1901—February, 1903). Needless to say, it was independent in politics, and endorsed the most radical ideas in all fields, from religion to the sale of liquor.

The strongest bond of union between Icelanders in America has been the church organization. The Icelandic Evangelical-Lutheran Synod was established in 1885, and a monthly magazine to be published by the Synod was decided upon at the same time. This, under the title of *Sameiningin*, began in March, 1886, and has appeared regularly down to date. The first editor was Rev. Jón Bjarnason, the organizer and first president of the Synod, and the foremost leader among his countrymen in America; he edited it to the day of his death, June 3, 1914. Since then it has been edited by Rev. Björn B. Jónsson, the present president of the Synod. It has naturally dealt almost exclusively with church affairs and religious questions, and other subjects have been treated only in so far as they touched upon the church or religion. It has always stood for rigorous orthodoxy and been impervious to all modernism; of late it has fought hard against biblical criticism and the new theology. But it has been well edited, and therefore always commanded the attention even of those who were not in sympathy with its program. Many contributions from Iceland, especially hymns and religious poems, have appeared in its pages, although the relations between the Icelandic Church on this side of the Atlantic and the Church in Iceland have frequently been strained.

⁴ The editor, before he left Iceland, had edited a paper called *Dagskrá*, hence this title of monarchical appearance.

In 1891 the Synod decided to issue another periodical publication, the annual *Aldamót*. This was edited by Rev. Friðrik J. Bergmann, probably the most influential man within the Synod next to the president himself. It contained mostly longer poems, essays, and papers on religious and ethical subjects, the ministers of the Synod being the principal contributors. Noteworthy in every volume are also the reviews of recent Icelandic books; they were written by the editor himself and are of some length and often of a good quality. Thirteen volumes appeared of this annual (to 1903). Two years later another annual of similar kind was published by the Synod, called *Áramót*. It ran for five years (1905-09) being edited by Rev. Björn B. Jónsson. It gave a report of the annual conferences of the Synod, and contained the papers and sermons delivered on these occasions.

Besides the periodicals already mentioned the Synod has published three papers for Sunday school teachers and children. The first of these, *Kennarinn*, appeared under the editorship of different ministers of the Synod from 1897 to 1905. This monthly was, however, first published by two Icelanders in succession, in Minneota, Minn., and there the first five volumes were printed; but in 1902 the Synod took charge of it, and thereafter it was printed in Winnipeg. The second paper, the monthly *Börninn*, was edited by Rev. N. Steingr. Thorláksson, 1905-08; and the third, the fortnightly *Framtíðin*, was also edited by him, 1908-10.

Between the two most prominent members of the Synod, Jón Bjarnason and F. J. Bergmann, there developed in course of time differences of opinion on various religious questions, which ultimately led to the latter's resignation from the Synod. The discontinuance of the *Aldamót* was in part probably due to this growing disagreement. Three years later (1906), Bergmann became the editor of the monthly magazine *Breiðablik*, which was founded in Winnipeg by Ólafur S. Thorgeirsson, the publisher. This may be classed as one of the best periodicals that have appeared in America in the Icelandic language. It was attractively made up, well printed, and carefully edited, and it occasionally had illustrations, chiefly portraits. The contents were of a general character, religious, social, and literary questions being the principal topics dealt with, and it extended its field to conditions in Iceland as well as in America. In religious matters it took a liberal position, thus coming into conflict with the Synod and its adher-

ents. The editor's religious opinions were apt to color his treatment of all other subjects, there is a religious undercurrent throughout. The Bredablik Publishing Company continued the publication of the magazine for some years, but in 1914 it ceased to appear for lack of support. Eight volumes were published (1906-14).

The Icelanders in America have, broadly speaking, followed two paths in their religion: they have either remained within the Lutheran Church, in which they had been brought up, or they have become Unitarians. The first Icelandic Unitarian organ was the monthly *Dagsbrún*, which, under the editorship of Magnús J. Skaptason, a former Lutheran minister from Iceland, began to appear at Gimli, Manitoba, in 1893; from April, 1895, to the end of the year 1896 it was published by the Unitarian Congregation in Winnipeg. Four volumes were issued. Two years later Mr. Skaptason started another Unitarian monthly called *Ltsing*, but only four numbers were printed (November, 1898—February, 1899). The next enterprise was of even shorter duration; the *Ný Dagsbrún*, edited in Gimli by Jóhann P. Sólmundarson in 1904 was discontinued after one good-sized number had appeared. More successful was *Heimir*, a monthly first published by "some Icelanders in America" and afterwards by the Icelandic Unitarian Association in America. It existed for about ten years (9 volumes 1904-14), being edited by Rögnvaldur Pétursson and Guðmundur Árnason. On the whole it was a fairly well edited magazine although printing and paper might have been better. It offered its readers a variety of subjects, by no means confining itself directly to the propaganda of Unitarianism, although one has the feeling that in the selection of reading matter the religious view is rarely neglected—which after all is common to magazines of that kind. Nevertheless it was a readable and in many ways an attractive publication, but it seems as if the Icelandic Unitarians are not sufficiently strong or well organized to manage the burden of even so small a magazine.

During recent years a few periodicals of an ephemeral existence have been published in Winnipeg. One of these *Tuttugasta Öldin*, edited by Sigfús B. Benedicsson, was a paper of tendencies so "advanced" as to find in the Christian chronology a thing of the past and therefore deliberately adopted a new one; but only sixteen numbers saw the light (1909-10). In 1911 two magazines

were started in Winnipeg, one *Syrpa* being published by Ólafur S. Thorgeirsson, the other *Fróði* edited by Magnús J. Skaptason. Both contained principally translations from other languages, stories, and other entertaining matter; the former was issued until the end of the year 1915, while the latter after having been transferred to Gimli, ceased to appear in 1914—the last number being published in August of that year. A small monthly paper, *Alþýðuvínurinn*, chiefly devoted to advocating temperance, was published by Stefán Einarsson and Egill Erlendsson from January to August 1914.

In Gimli, Manitoba, there have from time to time appeared various periodical publications, a few of them already mentioned above. The one among the Gimli publications that continued longest was the monthly *Svava*, published and edited by Gísli M. Thompson, 1895-1904 (6 volumes). This was devoted to literature and entertaining and instructive articles of the popular kind; several original poems and stories are to be found there; but the contents consisted mainly of translations. Another enterprise of Thompson's was the fortnightly *Bergmálið*, a newspaper which was published from December, 1897, to February, 1901. It was succeeded by the weekly *Baldur*, originally published by "some New-Icelanders," and later by the Gimli Printing and Publishing Company. Appearing from January, 1903, to February, 1910 (7 volumes) in large folio, it was a paper of radical tendencies, and the editing of it left much to be desired. Of a similar kind was the weekly *Gimlungur*, "a paper for farmers and laborers," published by the Maple Leaf Printing and Supply Company and edited by Gísli P. Magnússon, from March, 1910, to October, 1911, a typical village newspaper. In connection with it was issued the monthly *Heimilisvínurinn*, of which only six numbers were printed (May-October, 1910), containing mostly translated stories.

Selkirk, Manitoba, has contributed also to the periodical literature. *The Maple Leaf Almanac* has been mentioned above. In 1898, Mrs. Margrét J. Benedictsson founded there a monthly magazine devoted to woman's suffrage and the emancipation of women, with the title *Freyja*. The editor asserts that it was the first paper of its kind to be published in Canada. The subject-matter consisted to a great extent of translations, stories, and other articles dealing with the cause; it also advocated tem-

perance. From 1902 to 1910 it was printed in Winnipeg. The last number bears the date of July, 1910. Mrs. Benedictsson's husband, Sigfús B. Benedictsson, was the editor of *Selkirkur*, a small paper which was printed at Selkirk from September, 1900, to March, 1902, 26 numbers being published.

The first, and so far the only, newspaper to appear in Icelandic in the United States was the monthly *Vinland*, which, in small folio numbers of eight pages, was published in Minneota, Minn., from March, 1902, to February, 1908. It was founded by G. B. Björnsson, but was afterwards published by the *Vinland* Publishing Company, the editors being Rev. Björn B. Jónsson and Dr. Th. Thordarson, the latter a graduate of the College of Iceland. This paper, primarily intended for the Icelanders living in the United States, dealt above all with affairs in this country. The news from home and abroad was given in a concise form on the front page, the rest of the paper being devoted to longer articles on various topics. Reviews of Icelandic books were often to be found in its columns. On the whole, this is the most attractive of the Icelandic periodicals of the western hemisphere, well edited, well written, and neatly got up, and occasionally illustrated with portraits of Icelanders. It was discontinued, apparently, not for lack of subscribers, but because no editor could be found to take charge of it.—The monthly *Kennarinn*, which for some time was printed in Minneota, has been mentioned above.

The periodicals published in the Icelandic language in America have thus been some thirty in number; only a few of them have, however, been of any permanence, and at the present time but four of these are still active, the oldest being in its thirty-first year. It is not likely that the number of periodicals will be greatly augmented in the future; they have hitherto depended upon the early immigrants and upon the continuous immigration from Iceland, but this has now virtually ceased. Very few contributions to the press or to Icelandic-American literature have come from men of Icelandic parentage born in America. It has been said that of immigrants the Icelanders were found to be far the readiest to mingle with the native population.⁵ And this recalls the controversies which took place in the eighties and nineties between the Icelanders who had emigrated and those at home. The Icelandic-American press has often criticised severely conditions in Ice-

⁵ Cf. Rupert Brooke, *Letters from America*. New York, 1916. p. 113.

land, painted her future in dark colors, and at times even went so far as to doubt that the mother-country had any future possibilities. All this was naturally emphasized by agents sent to Iceland by the Canadian government to persuade people to emigrate to the promised land. The Icelandic press, as was to be expected, resented such arguments and in turn sometimes gave misleading accounts of America; but they duly pointed out that the immigrants and their descendants would soon be absorbed by the native population of the country they settled in, and that the Icelandic nationality and Icelandic language would disappear there. No one would be inclined to-day to deny the truth of their predictions. This quarrel between the two groups of Icelanders is ended. At present they are on the best of terms, and Icelandic-Americans have frequently, both in words and deeds, shown their affection for the mother-country, and taken active interest in its affairs. Easier means of communication and mutual visits have cleared the air on both sides, and from the interchange of ideas both have benefited.

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON.

Cornell University.

THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES IN MODERN LANGUAGE STUDY IN THE SCHOOLS

It is nearly six years now since the Scandinavian languages made their advent into our high schools. They had for a long time been offered in the curricula of many of our larger universities,¹ but with the exception of a few universities the courses were principally in Old Norse and advanced Scandinavian literature offered students in philology.

The languages had been taught as the second mother tongue in our Scandinavian denominational colleges and seminaries ever since their inception. Almost from the beginning of the more extensive Scandinavian immigration in the middle of the last century the two languages had been taught in our Scandinavian parochial schools, just as French and German had earlier been taught in similar schools and generally at the expense of English.

Not until these languages had entered the field of public secondary schools could it be said that they had entered the domain of Modern Language Study. French and German had entered this field about fifty years in advance of the Scandinavian languages and had gone through the various stages of development from early pioneer beginnings much as the Scandinavian languages in more recent years have progressed. It is not the purpose of this paper to record the growth of the study of the Scandinavian languages during the past six years, but rather to view in retrospect their place in Modern Language Study and if possible suggest some lines of procedure which shall ensure a healthy growth to the two youngest members of the group (Norwegian, Swedish).

This society has from time to time reviewed the progress made and shown some interest in the seeming progress. Loyal Scandinavians have at times aided in getting the languages introduced, but after being successful in launching them have abandoned them to shift for themselves. Small groups of teachers have struggled to do what they could to cope with the many difficulties. The Scandinavian Press has given welcome aid in the six years that have passed. Such is the brief story of it. What are the present needs?

We may first consider the teaching force at our command and the requirements necessary for good and successful teaching of the Scandinavian languages. The field being new the work naturally fell into the hands of teachers who had not been especially trained for this particular work. Some were perhaps proficient enough in the Scandinavian language to be taught, but lacked the necessary ability in English. Others had the necessary knowledge of English but lacked sufficient knowledge of Swedish or Norwegian to make successful teachers. The problem of supplying schools with good teachers therefore became a grave one.

A prime requisite, however, for teaching any subject in our American public schools is, first and foremost, a ready command of English, correct English, written and spoken. Some excellent teaching material has been lost to our cause because the training of the teacher had neglected the English. This has

¹ Since 1869 in Cornell University and Wisconsin University, and since 1880 in Columbia University. See article: "Nordiske Studier ved amerikanske Universiteter" in *Symra*, Decorah, Iowa, 1905.—Editor.

been a drawback so serious in some of the best high schools of our larger cities that it has almost led to the abandonment of the work entirely.

It would perhaps be a good and wise thing for our private denominational institutions to strengthen the English departments of their curricula and emphasize a little more the study of English grammar and English rhetoric and particularly emphasize clear enunciation and correct intonation if they wish to train their students to enter American public schools as teachers. Nothing is quite so much a criterion, by which applicants for positions are judged by those in authority, as ready command of English. A bright, cultured, prepossessing young man or woman with a broad knowledge of the elementary branches of study, even if possessed of only a limited knowledge of Swedish or Norse, has been able to do more for the cause than the most profound scholar who has a crude and limited knowledge of English. A good knowledge of the general subjects in a university course of study, some pedagogical training and accurate knowledge of cultured Norse or Swedish, even if somewhat limited in scope, should make a person entering the field a successful teacher in our schools. It is to be hoped that our universities will make greater efforts to prepare able young men and women to enter this special field of teaching, which is sadly in want of recruits.

Special courses should be offered in the Scandinavian branches to give readiness in refined speech. The teacher to be truly successful should be able to converse with ease in the foreign tongue and use it freely in the classroom so that the pupils may enter into the spirit of the language and gain the feeling and atmosphere of it, special effort being made to eliminate plebeianism.

The greatest need at present is strong, fearless, energetic teachers who can put the work on their own shoulders and carry it on to success, for with our deficient equipment and lack of adequate texts we must have teachers with initiative. To our universities we must look for just such recruits and I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of offering just such courses in Scandinavian study as will equip young men and women to fill these difficult positions. To insure success the teachers should be trained to be masters of both English and the foreign language taught.

We next come to the question of proper text books, a problem which has been the constant concern of those who have been pioneers in the work.

Especially aggravating has been the question of reformed spelling. In Swedish the work has been made easier because here the issue of reformed spelling has been settled once and for all; but unfortunately in Norse we are still handicapped by the vacillating conditions of both the old and new. There should be a uniformly adopted norm for all schools throughout the country.

The Norwegian Press persistently adheres to the old orthography, and for purely financial reasons avoids all change, thus retarding the progress of the language work; we are in fact fifty years behind conditions in Norway. If the Latin type and the reformed spelling were uniformly adopted, much would be done to facilitate the work and make it more attractive for the younger generation. Let me say right here that there should be no delay in putting Professor Flom's *Synnöve Solbakken* into Latin type and reformed spelling. If this is not done, an excellent text will be lost to the work and become obsolete.

We are pitifully in need of adequate dictionaries in both languages. What can be done to relieve the situation? Encouragement should be offered the compilers of new texts. How can we expect scholars to devote time and energy to the compilation of new texts unless some assurance be given them that their texts will be published and published promptly? Appeals have come from many teachers for added aids, new texts. Brief stories from the mythology and elementary texts of Scandinavian history are needed if the literature is later to be grasped intelligently. The field of German and French teems with well-edited texts; not until the Scandinavian courses can offer something approximately similar, can the work hope to make much progress. To Americans the work seems now unreasonably difficult.

In recent years there has been quite a revolution in the method of teaching modern languages. The old formal and traditional methods have in many places been superseded by the more interesting and practical presentation. The direct method has in the study of French and German in many of our schools taken the place of the old theoretical. Some even go so far as to devote the entire first semester exclusively to the conversational method. Would this be advisable in the study of the Scandinavian languages? I believe not.

The majority who select the Scandinavian languages for their language study are of Scandinavian extraction, wholly or partly, and have in the home somewhat acquired a feeling for the structure of the language, although they may not have learned to speak, read, or write it. It is yet to a great extent a second mother tongue which they have acquired much as a polyglot. They do not need to translate their personality into the language. There is nothing which delights the students quite so much as to float on their previous superficial knowledge, and the exclusive use of the direct method yields but poor results. Theory must bring them what they lack, and daily practice in conversation must seek to eliminate plebeianism and give them added vocabulary so that the knowledge of the second mother tongue does not lack the cultural elements which we constantly strive for in their English. To their previous only partially correct and limited vocabulary of household terms and biblical language must be added proper terms of trade and business, technical phraseology and literary style.

Another phase which cannot be too strongly emphasized in the study is the comparative side, by which the students' English is improved—training gained also there. None of the advantages which a foreign language offers seem so prominent and important to me as this. I have observed that many of my pupils never fully comprehended the structure of the English language until they had taken Norse. The Scandinavian languages are unequalled as aids to English.

The question which confronts us is: What can the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study do for the advancement of the Scandinavian languages in Modern Language Study in the schools?

By means of its publication it can be of much influence and of great assistance to the teachers who are struggling with the problem.

The *Publications* might from time to time offer:

1. Articles on pedagogical questions directly affecting the present situation.

2. Lists of new texts and brief reviews of them thus enabling teachers to keep in touch with new materials offered.

3. Notes from the teaching field, so that teachers in the various sections of the country can keep in touch with the work done elsewhere and note the progress in other places.

4. Courses of study with all available texts suitable for the various courses offered. This would be a great help for new teachers and would be a guidance for them in beginning the work in new places.

5. Lists of books suitable for travelling libraries where Scandinavian books are not available. They would also be a guidance in selection of proper reading not only for the youth but the general public.

6. A book list of authentic and reliable literature in English on all phases of Scandinavian culture, literature, history, music, art social, and economic conditions, etc., etc. (Possibly matter under 3, 4, 5, and 6 should be issued as separate pamphlets.)

Moreover the society should create a teachers' bureau where might be registered the names of all teachers available for the work, with a record of their qualifications. If such a bureau were created much assistance could be rendered principals and school boards throughout the country in choosing teachers, and help young teachers in securing positions. If such a bureau were organized printed pamphlets and compiled statistics could be sent out to give the necessary information desired. This same bureau, or some committee should have in charge the work of keeping in touch with the National Educational Association and all state educational associations, which have in their territory fields of Scandinavian study. This committee should also make some effort to cause to be incorporated into the report of the United States Bureau of Education some account of the Scandinavian languages as part of Modern Language Study.

A text-book committee should have as its function the work of promoting the publication of new texts and other necessary material for the promulgating of the work. It should also be the duty of this committee to submit to the Society a uniform standard of reformed spelling as the standard to be followed in this country.

Much valuable work could be done by the Society to broaden the field by aiding citizens' committees and school boards in introducing the languages in places where they are not yet a part of the course of study. So vast indeed is the field that we cannot hope to do much in the immediate future to improve conditions, but we must be willing to act and we must begin at once.

MAREN MICHELET

South High School, Minneapolis.

REVIEWS

GUSTAF FRÖDING: SELECTED POEMS. Translated from the Swedish with an introduction by Charles Wharton Stork. New York, 1916. The Macmillan Co. Pp. 168.

He that would undertake to translate Fröding merely as a literary diversion would shortly discover his misjudgment of the task. The poet's mastery of style and expression, his rhythmic fluency, his use of folklore, his idiomatic vernacular—all these and other characteristics require in the translator, as a prime requisite, more than ordinary literary capacity in his own tongue. Beyond that he must possess a thorough acquaintance with the Swedish language in a general way and more specifically with the particular linguistic field in which the poet moves. Fröding's range is from the dialect of the province of Värmland to the archaic style of the early Swedish authors in his pasticcios and imitations, from the solemnity of Scripture to the low levels of talk of the city tramp and the charcoal burner of the backwoods.

With the English scholarship and independent authorship of the present translator there is no fault to find. We are here considering him as an interpreter of literature. His introduction to the translations sounds reassuring and gives promise of a work to be performed with care, accuracy, taste, conscientiousness and literary insight, qualities which we have grown accustomed to look for in vain in much recent Swedish fiction in English dress. We quote these words from Mr. Stork's introduction: "Many Swedes have asserted that the Värmland poems never could be rendered into English, though some readers of the following attempts have been so kind as to change their previous opinion. The present translator has endeavored first to live himself into the originals, and then to reproduce them in English as if he were writing them for the first time. He has above all aimed at producing vital English poetry; along with that he has tried to be as faithful to detail as his primary purpose would allow."

We agree, indeed, that an English translation of Swedish poetry should be, in the first place, *English poetry*, in the second, a *translation*, a faithful interpretation. Stork's English verse is good,—let us examine into the degree of faithfulness that the task of producing it allowed the interpreter. An examination of a number of passages in the translation has prompted the reviewer to ask himself time and again: Is Mr. Stork writing his own poems or translating Fröding's? The translator's "faithfulness to detail" will be evidenced by the following array of inaccuracies, which too is only a partial list.

In "Matrimonial Queries" Erik is made to say to Maya: "The parish feeds me and roots nourish you." (*Du går på roten och jag går på stat*). The sheer nonsense of the line is apparent only to those who understand that *gå på roten* means to work out, go from place to place, and *gå på stat* means to work as a day laborer at a fixed place.

Stork's mountain trolls are said to have "fists like a great iron casting," where Fröding's have *nåvar såsom jättekast*, meaning huge rocks or boulders traditionally supposed to have been thrown by giants. Equally free and inaccurate is the rendering of *Det var som ett slagsmål av vettskrämde hyttor*, . . . ("Still it looked like a fight to see chimneys a-shaking"), where the meaning is, a frantic fight among the foundries themselves.

A ludicrous error is found in the next attempt, "The Old Mountain Troll." Soliloquizing about a little girl who had been kind to him, the old troll makes the reflection, *Hon vore allt mat för måns* (What a dainty morsel she would be). *Måns*, being the common pet name for cat, strongly suggests the picture of a cat devouring a pretty bird. This the translator misses entirely. He does not even get the literal meaning of the words, but seems to go on the blind conjecture that *måns* is some form of *måne* (moon) in rendering the line, "She'd be food for a month, I swear!"

We turn to "Three Carolling Girls" and stumble on a line that fairly takes our breath away. "*Udden är så later*" *de trallade alla de tre* (The odd one is so lazy, etc.), says Fröding, i.e., they sing a snatch of a popular game, where the "odd one" (*udden, uddan*), the player without a mate, is the object of the usual taunts. Now read Mr. Stork's line, "My, but the *seashore is lonely*!"

In "Homecoming" the translator gives us a misinterpretation truly monstrous for a man who might be supposed to have mastered the fundamentals of Swedish grammar. Here is the situation. The poet visits his old home and finds its charming surroundings unchanged, but the old homestead burnt down and a charred and littered area in place of it. He sings of home and father:

Det är tomt, det är bränt, jag vill lägga mig ned
invid sjön för att höra hans tal
om det gamla, som gått, medan tiden led,
om det gamla i Alsterns dal.

Mr. Stork reads *den gamla* for *det gamla* and proceeds to translate without a suspicion that this rendering spoils three stanzas and ruins the sense of an entire section of the poem. Remember that Fröding is singing of the past, of his boyhood days in the valley of Alster, with not even the mention of an old woman, then read, if you can, without a gasp, Mr. Stork's rendering into "vital English:"

It is gone, it is burned. I will lie by the side
Of the lake here and hark to his tale
Of the *woman* who lived as the calm years glide,
The *old wife* of Alsterdale.

He sings of *her* grief in a voice as low . . .
And that is the end of my *cradle song*
Of the *old wife* of Alsterdale.

Omitting comment on such trifling errors as "line" for *lin* (flax), "titled aunties" for *sticknoblessen* (girlish nobility, young ladies of family), "Look, you cat" for *fy för katten* (for shame!), we turn to "A Poor Monk of Skara" as probably furnishing the best illustrations of liberties never to be taken by a translator. The lines

. . . *för dråp och trilska och kätteri*
och av kungen förklarad för fågelfri

are not translated, but simply corrupted thus:

"For manslaughter and for heresy
The king has *pardoned and set me free*."

Fågelfri means outlawed, proscribed, game for any man's gun, like the birds; i.e., the very opposite of "pardoned and set free." The word might have been found in any dictionary. The next stanza:

*Allt sedan Lars Kanik jag slog,
de hava mig jagat som ulven i skog.
Det enda de funno tillrätta,
det var min munkehälla.*

(Because Lars Kanik I smote in wrath,
The brethren hastened to dog my path.
They hunted me like a wolf in the wood;
That I was a monk, that alone was good.)

This is wide of the mark. *Finna tillrätta* means simply to find, to pick up, and the obvious sense is, that in his flight from his pursuers the outlawed monk lost his cowl, and that was all they got for their trouble. Why *Kanik* (Canon) is left here and given the force of a proper noun when the subsequent *Lars Canonicus* gives the key to its meaning, is not clear.

But witness the translator's renderings in the next stanza: Evidently failing to find the word *kona* (public woman, jade, strumpet) he makes a rough guess that it has some relation to *ko* (cow). Ignoring the feminine ending *-or*, which might have served as a guide, he proceeds to interpret in his own hit or miss fashion

*. . . med konor och gigare drog jag,
och Lasse Canonicus slog jag
(I joined with a cowboy and fiddler crew,
And Lars Canonicus I slew).*

The translator, who is the author of "Sea and Bay" and "The Queen of Orplede," etc., tells us in a prefatory note that the translations in this volume have been "favorably passed upon by the Publication Committee of the American-Scandinavian Foundation." The reviewer refuses to believe that the committee could have given anything like thorough consideration to Mr. Stork's attempts and failed to discover the literary atrocities we have pointed out. The Foundation encourages the activity of recent years in the field of translation from the Scandinavian literatures, and desires to do everything in its power to promote the work. But are we to accept, blindfolded, anything that may be offered? Are high-class publishers willing to stand sponsors to any literary foundling that may be picked up and presented at the baptismal font of printer's ink? In his examination of several translations from the Swedish the reviewer has found some glaring incongruities which might have been obviated by a very slight revision. Picking up Mr. Stork's volume, I fell to reading it with high hopes. But, it must be added, these hopes were soon dispelled. To have one's sense of the ridiculous excited where an aesthetic appeal is looked for is meager compensation indeed.

If Gustaf Fröding is "the most striking and probably the greatest figure" in the "long array of distinguished Swedish poets," as his interpreter, with a shade of journalistic exaggeration, assures us, the greater is the pity he did not fall into better hands.

ERNST W. OLSON.

VESTNORSK MAALFÖRE FYRE 1350, II, SUDVESTLANDSK I. RYGIAMAAL. Christiania, 1915. Pp. 127+ Five Plates. [Videnskapselskabet's Skrifter II, 1914-15.]

The present study by Professor Hægstad is a continuation of his *Vestnorske maalföri fyre 1350, I*, of which the introduction "Latinsk skrift i gamalnorsk maal" was published in 1906. Those who do not possess this work I may refer to my review of it in Vol. VIII (1909) of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, pages 602-605. In 1907 the author's "Nordvestlandsk" appeared. The present number is the first installment on Southwest Norwegian; it will be followed by one on the "hordske maal" and the "egdske maalföri" as "Indre Sudvestlandsk," one on Icelandic and one on Faroese. In the volume now in preparation, that on hordske maal, emphasis will be laid on the charters from the inner groups of dialects, Voss, Hardanger and central and inner Sogn.¹

The present number deals with Old Norwegian in a rather extensive region, for, what we may perhaps call in English the Rugian dialects, comprises Dalarne, Jæderen, Ryfylke, and Røldal parish of Hardanger. This number, therefore, and the next number to appear cover the texts of ON times in those regions particularly which stand nearest to Icelandic and classical Old Norse. The author's plan in the order of treatment is therefore a natural one, and it is most desirable to have such an investigation carried into Icelandic and Faroese. Fruitful as Hægstad's results have already been for Old Norse in general the present study is especially interesting and valuable with the greater emphasis here laid upon the development after 1350.

The Rugian branch of the Norwegians were domiciled near the mouth of the Vistula as neighbors of the Goths when history first reveals anything about them (Tacitus, 98 A.D., chapter 44 of *Germania*). There were wars between the Goths and the Rugii, it would seem, presumably in the first half of the second century A.D. The Rugii were driven out and entered upon their migrations. They are said to have founded a kingdom in the Carpathians, they are often mentioned with Goths and Erulii and Germans,²—in Old English, Widsith (500 A.D. and later parts) speaks of them (line 21) in his list of peoples among whom he had travelled and sung. When Jordanes wrote of the Scandinavian tribes he mentions the Rugii as living near to the Arothi (= *harudi*, ON. *hordar*, modern *Horda-land*); he places them just before the latter, hence they were then settled in their present abode (and probably had been for several centuries).

At present Rugian speech, as represented in the present study, extends from the river Sira in Flekkefjord up north to Ryvarden in South Hordaland or about 100 miles south of Bergen. Prof. Hægstad is inclined to believe that the old "Rogaland" (land of the Rugii) also embraced all of Agder east of the river Sira.

Hægstad's investigation takes into account a group of ninety-seven charters, of which seventy-four are from Stavanger; but of these a considerable number must practically be eliminated from the investigation, as not being written in Southwest Norwegian (dialect) but in the normalised ONw. chancery style of Bergen, which thence spread south to Stavanger. This chancery norm, as the author points out, was a composite of Northwest Norwegian and the language of Thronthjem, which latter had gained supremacy in the XIIIth century. Again other letters are more purely Northwestern in dialect. Fortunately

¹Outer "hordske" maal comprises chiefly Nordhordland.

²Professor Hægstad notes that Procopius calls the Rugii a Gothic people.

there are particularly five letters that are written in dialect, and, of course, it is mainly on the basis of these that the present investigation rests. The differences between the genuine dialect form and the chancery norm is illustrated first in the author's presentation by the two copies of the charter *A.M. fasc. 30*, numbers 10 and 11, date 1305. As copy 10 here shows, the two great distinguishing marks of this dialect in modern times were also present in ONw. times, i.e., consistently carried out *u*-umlaut before retained *u*, and everywhere the vowels *e*, *o*, in endings, not *i* and *u* or *e* and *o* as elsewhere according to the law of vowel-harmony. The author now presents a detailed account of the language of these five charters (and the dialectal elements of other charters). There are many things that it would be tempting to dwell on; I shall confine myself to briefly discussing some of the characteristics of the dialect, omitting the two mentioned above (1 and 10 in the lists). The numbers at the left are the author's numbers in the order of presentation.

3a. *I*-umlaut of *a* is *e*, coinciding with original *e*: *setta*, *segir*. Exceptions would seem to be chiefly before *r*: *framfærð*, *huer*; cf. Jæderen dial. *kver* and *kverandre* today, but *kvenn* and *kenn* where *v* is lost by assimilation.

3c. Original *e* appears as *e*: *pegar*, *gefa*, *leset*. But there is much irregularity, certain charters having often *æ*; and certain words were clearly pronounced with a lower vowel as the writing *æ* indicates, thus: *æðr*, *æk*, *vatr*, *vera*.

3d. Original *ē* appears as *e*, but especially before *r*, as *hær*, and in the words *ræk* and *gæk*, it is *æ*. The modern differentiation into *i* and *æ*, which in this region is found especially in Jæderen, goes back to the XIIIth century therefore. Examples: Ryfylke, *fækk*, *jækk*, *tætt*, but Jæderen, *fekk*, *jekk*, *tillt*; also Jæderen *hikk*, ON. *hëkk*, and *hill*, ON. *hëlt*. Hægstad would assume the intermediate forms to have been *tielt*, *hiekk*, *hielt*. However, this seems unnecessary; rather, in the forms which have *i* to-day the narrow vowel *ē* became still further narrowed when it became short; i.e., it was raised from a narrow mid-vowel to a wide high vowel, as locally elsewhere where old *ē* has been shortened.³ I assume that in the Jæderen dial. indefinite *knē* (ON. *knē*) would today be *knitt* (i.e. *knitt*) in the definite form.

5c. Progressive umlaut after *j* is found only in *Ingielder* in the dialectal letters; the date of this is 1318, but *ia* prevails long after that. However, in the mixed letters the phenomenon appears as early as 1300, as *Jedre*, and it is frequent around 1350. The law seems then perhaps to have begun to operate in the region in question about 1300. By about 1400 the change was complete (cf. *Biarkreims*, 1388, but a *Bierkreime*, 1403).

6. *þan*, *þat* and *þar* are constant; forms with *æ* are not met with. The modern forms, however, are *denn*, *dæ* and *der* (or *der*, *dër*). The change is first sporadically evidenced in 1345; it is more in evidence about 1400, by 1450 those with *e* prevail. The tenacity of the West Nw. *a* here shows itself in that down to 1554 it is still met with in Stavanger letters. The change is first found in mixed letters and in those written at Stavanger. The author does not express himself as to the source or the course of the new forms *þæn*, *þæt* and *þær*. It may be noted that these forms are a departure from regular West Norwegian conditions today as they were then. If the new form is an evolution of *a* to *æ* in these words of weak sentence stress it would seem to have come to Ryfylke-Jæderen via West Telemarken and Dalarna, for in the North, in Hardanger

³ As in Aurland, Sogn.

and Voss, only *a*-forms are found. However, the forms in *æ* appear first in mixed letters in the city of Stavanger and the earliest occurrences are prevailingly in letters that show the influence of the chancery norm. Hence may not the forms *pæn*, *pæt* and *pær* be a case of borrowing?

7. The negative prefix is *u*, but the material is limited. Today it is everywhere *u*. It is interesting and somewhat surprising that a few genuine charters have *ó*; in view of certain later evidence and Icelandic-Faroese conditions the author holds that the prefix *ó*- was as general as *ú*- in the Viking Age, but later yielded again to *ú*. This seems somewhat venturesome; the matter needs investigation for a larger surrounding region and as to the scope of the later evidence.

8. The svarabhakti vowel appears as early as 1297; it is *e* in the main letters but sometimes *o*, *u*, and *a* in mixed letters. The occurrence of these latter vowels is noteworthy. While the writing *u* sometimes merely indicates a vague *e*, that is *ə*, showing that the change from, e.g., *yðr* to *yðər* is just beginning (hence *yður* means *yðər*), the author shows that in some parts of Ryfylke the vowel actually was *u*, while in some parts of Dalarne it actually was *a*. Thus the domain of *u* (*o*) in Voss in the XIVth century extended south as far as parts of Ryfylke, and the domain of *a*, *brøðar* (pl.), extended from Telemarken as far west as Sætersdalen. Also especially interesting is it that, as the author shows, the nature of the new vowel depends upon a kind of vowel-harmony (here in the region where the law of vowel-harmony does not operate); thus, e.g., *domor*, but *fullur*. But forms of the type *riker* (adj. sg.) were dominant numerically, since *e* would come after *a*, *æ*, *ø* and *y* also. Hence the disappearance of *u* (*o*) is due to analogy? The smaller group of vowel + *r*, ending of adjectives and nouns in the singular passed over into the larger class. The modern equivalent is *ə*, which in these regions may be from *e*, *o*, or *u*; and this is Hægstad's view, *e* and *o* (*u*) passed into *ə*. This seems supported by occasional late forms in *-o*, as *ffornemdo* (1523).

10b. From the author's very full discussion of vowel-harmony (see reference above) I shall note only the fact that, whereas the vowels of endings are regularly *e* and *o* irrespective of the preceding vowel, the noun endings: *-ill*, *-ull*, *-ingr*, *-ingi*, *-ing*, *-ungr*, *-mundr* are constant (not *ketell*, etc.).

12. *þ* initially and *ð* medially and finally is the regular practice in these charters. Now there is much confusion in the writing of *d* and *ð* in the end of the XIIIth and in the first quarter of the XIVth century, all of which of course indicates a change of pronunciation. However, the consistent use of *d* for *d* in the oldest charters treated here enables us to see where we still have spirantal pronunciation, the letter for which is *ð* or *d*. We find then that the spirant obtains after vowels, after *f*, *g*, *lg*, *m* and *r*, but *d*, appears after *n*. In some charters old *-mð*, also has become *-md*.

14. Spirantal *g* is written *gh* in the words *dagh* and *logh* and after *l* and *r*, as *fylghia*, *berghet*, in dialectal charters as early as 1305 and 1316, but in mixed letters as early as 1266. The modern dialect has no spirantal *g*.

15. The writings *ft* and *pt* are both used, corresponding presumably (more or less) to the same variation in the dialects there today (though old *aftr*-*aptr* and *efter*-*epter* are now *atts* and *ills* here as elsewhere in Norwegian dialects). The writing *pt* prevails in both dialectal and mixed charters.

The above are selected from the main characteristics of the language of the charters from this region. Among special features I shall only mention those of the ending *-ende* (nowhere *-ynde*) as *sannende*; the endings *-igr* and *-ugr*; vowel-lengthening before *l+f* and *l+s* between the end of the XIIIth century and the beginning of the XVth century prevailed over much of the region. The main letters give no evidence of the voicing of the explosives in stressed position, which is such a striking characteristic of the region along the sea from central Ryfylke to Arendal. Even in other letters this is first evidenced in the XVth century. In unstressed position the voiced sound is found as early as 1307 and 1328 (as *ad=at*).

I have above noted some of the main phenomena in the phonology, where the weight of the author's work lies. There is naturally valuable material also on the inflexions of Southeast Norwegian of the XIII-XIVth centuries. And it was to be expected that an investigation of this kind should bring to light out of the charters many new words and meanings not before recorded. The latter material, 225 words, is listed on pp. 92-102, where the earliest occurrence and the source, if the word is loaned, are also given. This list is very interesting also in the light that it throws upon loans, such as dialectal loans directly from German, loans from East Norwegian or from Swedish; the last of these begin about 1425. Many German words seem to have come in by way of Swedish, clearly so in such cases as *flydde*, OSw. *flya*, but Middle Low German *viten*; *vntreth*, OSw. *untrütta*, but MLG. *untrichten*, etc., etc.

In a special part the language of texts other than charters is accounted for, as *Gamalnorsk homiliebók*, 3rd hand, and runic inscriptions.

There are many special problems that invite discussion but I cannot here take the space. Hægstad's *Rygjamaal* is a very significant contribution to the study of Old Norwegian. But it is more than that; in almost every phenomenon discussed a large body of notes with a mass of illustrations of forms, etc., carries the account through the Middle Norwegian period down to early modern Norwegian, and finally in another body of notes there is a survey of the condition in the present dialect of Rogaland. The labor involved here, especially in the part involving Middle Norwegian, must have been tremendous; but the author has his reward in the greatly added value which his work gets in the hands of those who will use it. There are five excellent facsimile pages.

Scholars will be grateful for this contribution to the history of Norwegian. It is hoped that the continuation may not be long delayed.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

June 5, 1916.

SCANDINAVIAN PUBLICATIONS, RECENT AND FORTHCOMING

Just Bing: *Norsk Litteraturhistorie*, Gyldendal, 1915, Pp. 235, is gotten out as a text-book for schools. It is briefer than the author's earlier volume, *Norsk Litteraturhistorie Med Illustrationer*, 1904, which in 290 pages treats the XVIth century and after. In the present work the literature as a whole is covered though the earlier centuries are presented with, as it seems to me, rather too great emphasis on brevity: three pages for the Viking Age; six for Eddic and Scaldic poetry; six for Iceland and the sagas, one for the early laws, six for the royal sagas and for other historical writings. In the brief space allotted European literature in ONw. translation, etc., the King's Mirror properly receives the main attention. It seems to me a commendable feature in this book that an effort is also made to give the student an idea of the relation not only to Danish literature but also to Swedish literature, and to European literature in general, English, French, German, Russian. Within Scandinavian literature the connections are, down to quite recently, mainly with Denmark, but a text-book of this kind should do just what this one aims to do, also give the student some notion of Swedish literature and its chief names.

The most ambitious purely literary journal—journal of literary research—at present is, I suppose, *Edda*, *Nordisk Tidskrift for Litteraturforskning*, launched in 1914, edited by Professor Gerhard Gran, with Francis Bull as "Editorial Secretary" (Assistant Editor), and published at Christiania, Norway (printer H. Aschehoug & Co.). It aims to be primarily a journal for the study of northern intellectual life as expressed in the northern literatures, Norwegian, Swedish, (Finnish), Danish, Icelandic; but this program is interpreted broadly with emphasis upon the relation to foreign literatures and regular contributions on current foreign literature; with emphasis also on the Old Scandinavian period, and there are regularly philological investigations of literary problems in that period; and finally with emphasis upon northern literature as related to and explainable in any part of it by other sciences and other fields of intellectual endeavor. We hope in one of our issues in the near future to offer a somewhat detailed account of the contributions of *Edda* in these various phases of the field it covers as well as of some of the studies of recent Scandinavian writers published in it. There are a group of about sixty contributing editors, 24 each for Norway and Denmark, 15 for Sweden, 5 for Iceland and Finland, Gustav Lanson, the leader of French literary investigation, for France, H. V. Routh for England, Gustav Neckel for Germany, Fr. von der Leyen for Holland, H. Logeman, for Belgium, et al. There are four numbers a year, folio size, each about 200 pages, subscription 12 kroner a year. In the last issue, 1916, 1, there are twelve articles. Didrik Arup Seip discusses "Stilen i Bjørnsons bondefortællinger," pp. 1-21; Per Hallström, "William Butler Yeats," 22-39; Henning Kehler, "Studier i det Ibsenske drama, 40-98; Hans E. Kinck, "Litt om Niccolo Machiavellis skrifter," 99-126; John Landquist, "Skuldskänslan i Frödings diktning," 127-132; Finnur Jónsson, "Solarljóð"; Anathon Aal, "Filosofien i Norden," and other excellent material; the French, English, American and German contributors write in their respective languages.

Norsk sætningsmelodi; dens forhold til ordmelodien. En undersøkelse av østnorsk Riksmåal. Av Ivar Alnæs. Christiania, H. Aschehoug & Co. Pp. 218, 1916. It is practically new ground that the author of this work is breaking; for while a group of investigators in Germany, Italy, and America have been engaged in studies on word and sentence melody in German, Italian and English, Norwegian and Swedish have hardly been studied at all. And the author must in a double sense break new ground here since the advance made elsewhere is only in slight part applicable, so the author finds, to Norwegian and Swedish, which have a different and highly complicated musical character. The author is a practical schoolman whose special field of work has lain in instruction in pronunciation, phonology and reading aloud, and the present volume contains the results of investigations extending over a long period of years. It will be impossible to give an idea of the contents of this work in the space at my disposal. I can only call attention to it as one of the most significant contributions to the study of Norwegian (and peninsular Scandinavian) that has appeared in recent years. A similar study of West and North Norwegian by scholars native to the region (as in this case) would now be exceedingly welcome.

Skrifter utgitte av Bergens historiske Forening. Nr. 20, 1914, Pp. 119; Nr. 21, 1915, Pp. 108. These numbers contain fifteen articles on various matters touching the history of the city of Bergen. The President of the Society, B. E. Bendixen, contributes, in 20, seven of the articles, among which one is an account of "Bergens handelsflaate i krigsaarene 1807-14," one gives an account of "Et pilgrimsmerke fundet paa Tyskebryggen," but especially interesting as a contribution to general Norwegian cultural history is one on "Hvad drak man i Bergen i gamle dage?," appearing in 21, pp. 29-50. Bendixen discusses in this article the beverages of the Middle Age period. Most modern beverages were not known; to make wines from berries or fruits was not either practiced; artificially prepared beverages consisted mainly of *mungaal* (weak ale) *björ* (beer) and *mjød* (mead). The account that follows is then a somewhat detailed history of what is known of the manufacture and use of these and other drinks from the earliest mention in laws, sagas, etc., including the introduction and use of wine. Another interesting article is one by Aagot Daae on the earliest printing establishments in Bergen; the first printer was Nørvig, 1721, and the first newspaper, *Ridende Mercurius*. The account treats only the first fifty years. Dr. Haakon Schetelig gives a description of a find of silver coins near Nestun from the years 1647-1730.

Per Nissen: *Fædrelandet. En Norges Beskrivelse for Landsmænd Hjemme og Ute.* Kristiania, 1914, H. Aschehoug & Co., Pp. VIII+685. Med 3 Oversigtskart: 1, Syd-Norge, 2, Nord-Norges sydlige Del, 3, Nord-Norges nordlige Del. This handsome volume in green and gilt cloth offers much of real interest to Norwegians and all who are interested in Norway. It aims to be something more than the ordinary school geography and something less than the great *Norges Land og Folk*, well known to us all. The work is intended for the general reader, but must necessarily often treat of special fields requiring the knowledge of the specialist. Such articles as deal with the geology of Norway, the fauna and flora, agriculture, etc., are based on the technical literature of the subject and have in all cases been gone over by specialists. There is an abundance of

illustrations, ca., 250 in all, from all parts of Norway, and they are uniformly excellent, adding much to the pleasure of using the book and to its value as a kind of introduction to present-day Norway. Every phase of Norwegian life and activity is treated, for the country as a whole in the introductory section, then in detail province for province.

It is known to many of our members that the various provinces of Sweden have organizations whose purpose it is to gather together and interpret material bearing upon the history and life of the locality. A great deal of the most important work done in this direction, antiquarian, archeological, linguistic, in folk lore, early church history, personal history, etc., has been done by members of these *Fornminnesföreningar*. In a later number of this Journal we hope to offer an account of the work done by some of these societies, and we shall from time to time mention new works. See also *Publications*, II, p. 294. I shall here call attention to *Jämtlands läns fornminnesförenings tidskrift*, Vol. VI, number 1, 64 pages, which contains a reprint of the exceedingly interesting "Kort Beskrifning öfver Rödöns Tingsdag i Jämtland" by Jöns Tideman (of the year 1758). An article by Peter Olsson on Jämtland farmsteads in the early days is in the nature of a contribution to an earlier study in the *Tidskrift* (new material from the *Diplomatarium norvegicum*). Of the remainder I shall mention Johan Larsson's "Om sjukdomsbesvärjelser," christian charms against disease. Vol. V dealt in the main with archeological investigations in Jämtland.

The publications of the antiquarian society of Västergötland, Sweden, are now in the 3rd volume, of which numbers 7-8 have just been issued (*Västergötlands fornminnesförenings tidskrift*); The editor is F. Ödberg and it is issued at Mariestad. These numbers contain considerable material about the work of the society but also several important articles in part on near-recent history of the province, as Sanfrid Welin's on "Slagen vid Bogesund och på Tiveden 1520," in part archeological in nature, as Fredrik Nordin's account of a recently found runestone. It is not often that runic finds are made now-a-days. This stone was found at Veland in Väne-Åsaka socken, the only one ever found in that part of Västergötland. The finder was the farmer Aug. Jacobsson, who at once took steps to ascertain the value of what proved to be a significant find. It is a memorial stone with a prayer for the consecration of Thor and reads: ÞYRVI RIÐI STIN IFTIR UKMUT BUTA SIN MIUK KUÐAN ÞIKN ÞUR VIKI, or in transcription into English: Thyra raised the stone after Agmund her husband a very good provider. May Thor consecrate (the stone). The stone is dated about year 1000 by Otto von Friesen and by Brate the close of the Xth century. Of other articles in this number I shall mention O. Mannefelt's account of "Skara domkyrka," continued from an earlier number.

As part of publications of the *Svenska Litteratursällskapet* Professors Adolf Noreen and J. A. Lundell have edited *1500- och 1600-Talens Visböcker*. Of this series Part VII is now in progress of publication from the *K. Bibliotekets Visbok i 4: O*,—numbers 1-3, 1912-1915, Pp. 148. The title of the old ballad-book here printed reads: Någre gamble Wýser aff allehanda Slagh widh sin eigen gamble och Enfaldige *Composition*, aldeles förvtan någor ändring eller

Emendation Såsom dhe öffwer kombne och vthi hastigheet afskrefne äre. There are 57 numbers. The MS in question contains, on pp. 1-124, ballads 1-38 written in a flowing hand of the XVIIth century; the rest are by several hands, for the most part also from the same century. The edition aims to reproduce the exact forms of the MS, but the usual difficulties of distinguishing certain letters, (as here *a* and *o* or *a* and *e*), or of determining what are intended as capitals and what as small letters, are of course, constantly met with. The edition of the *Visböcker* is herewith complete in two volumes, Vol. II, Texts, containing also *K. Bibliotekets visbok, 16:O*, published in the year 1900, and *K. Bibliotekets Visbok i 8:O* in 1904-1906.

Dr. A. B. Larsen has been engaged for some five years past upon studies in the characteristics of the dialects of Sogn. Aided by Government appropriation Dr. Larsen has made several journeys to all parts of Sogn in conducting these studies. A part of the results of them were made public in a lecture given at a meeting of the Christiania Scientific Society, February 25, 1916. By these studies our knowledge of this interesting and linguistically important dialect group will be very materially advanced and it is to be hoped that they may be published complete in the near future.

Riksmåals-bladet, for April 8, 1916, a copy of which has been sent me by Dr. Larsen, contains a full report of this lecture. I can speak of it only briefly here. Larsen finds the chief common phenomenon, the central mark of Sognic, to be that the definite form of the weak feminines is *-ao*, *visao*, *vikao* (*-ao* < ON. *-an*). Purest Sognic is therefore represented by the seven parishes: Vik, Balestrand, Leikanger, Sogndal, Aurland, Hafslo, and Lyster. To this feature, which is not found elsewhere in Norway, he adds a second as specifically Sognic, though found beyond Sogn's borders, namely the same sound *ao* for ON. *á*; this phenomenon is almost coextensive with Sogn itself (only Jostedal and two limited spots elsewhere are excluded). As regards the present equivalent of the trisyllabic def. pl. of ON., Sogn has today trisyllabic forms, as in W.Nw. in general, west of a line which runs through Central Sogn, dividing Balestrand, but dissyllabic forms east of this line. The mixed region would appear to be Leikanger (and Balestrand?). There are various facts that it would be tempting to speak of at length here but I cannot take the space. The author gives considerable attention to West Sognic (Ytterste Sognsk), an, as yet, little studied region, and here the lecture is especially instructive. He brings this region, as he also later does East Sognic (Inderste Sognsk), into relation with East Norwegian. On one point I am prompted to question a detail, namely the identity of the definite strong feminines in a section of West Sognic with that of East Norwegian,—as in *rola*, *bygda*. This needs further discussion. Is not the final vowel a low vowel, and a more fronted one (that is almost *rotæ*)?

Varðlokur. Et bidrag til kundskap om gammelnorsk trolddom. Av Magnus Olsen. 1916. Pp. 1-21. Reprint from *Maal og Minne*. In a very interesting, and as I believe successful, effort to explain the troublesome word ON *varðlokkur* or *varðlokur* of the *Eiríks saga rauða*, p. 16, Storm's ed., Olsen parallels first ON *Urðarlokur* and st. 74^o of *Grógaldur*—*Urðar-lokur haldi per allum megum*—, and then makes a study of Scottish *warlock* of somewhat similar use. He here takes up a suggestion of Vigfusson's, who related *varðlokkur* to Sco. *warlock*,

though he translated the former "ward-songs, charms." ON students will recall that the word reads variously *vorðlokkur* and *vorðlokur* in the MSS, but it has usually been taken to mean "charms (*lokkur*) for calling in the protecting spirits." Olsen first shows that the word *vorðr* was widely used for the personal *fylgja* and for the house- or farm-spirit. He then shows that the second element of the word must be assumed to be *loka*, "hedge, encircling ring," hence "vorðlukkerne," "wardlockers," i.e., hedge or ring which encircled or held enclosed the guardian spirits. Ingenious and semantically absolutely correct is the author's interpretation of the difference in meaning between ON *vorðlokkur* in the meaning cited and Sco. *warlock* 'sorcerer'; the former being used for the magic means, i.e., the ring here, while the Sco. word is used of the performer. When Torbjorg in the *Eiríks saga* conjured forth the spirits into the magic hedge of chanting women, who are her magic agents, the word that originally and in ON exclusively stood for the magic means, the hedge, could easily come (also) to be used of the controlling will in the magic act, the person who performed the magic act. There remains, as I can see, only one gap in Olsen's argument in identifying with Sco. *warlock*. ON *vorðloka*, borrowed in OSco. as *wardlock*, would today have yielded *wardlock*; but in the multiplicity of forms there is nowhere one with a *d*. (It might have had in OSco. the form **warthlock* or **warthloke*, which would have given **warthlock* today, or some form with a dental again). I suggest ON *varðloka*, borrowed with a dental, by contamination with the ME *warloghe*, 'a warlock, a sorcerer' (=OE *wærlaga*) became *warlock*. That is, the first part of the word is English, the second is Norse. Similarly the Sco. meaning 'sorcerer' was influenced by the native English word.

In *Til frender fraa Sogn. Festskrift udgivet av Sogns ungdomslag til stemna i Sogndal*, 2, August, 1914, edited by Olav Hoprekestad the one who is interested in this wonder spot of western Norway will find some interesting material and a number of good illustrations (published by N. Nilssen & Son, Bergen). Especially may be mentioned G. F. Heiberg's "Museet paa Amble" and the picture showing the interior of the implement room of the Museum, and the photographs of old implements, and of the Amble rune-stone. The "Amerikabrev" from 1864 with the quaint spellings are interesting and here and there offer things that are linguistically instructive.

In *The Classical Journal* for Jan. 1916, (XI, 4) Professor Andrew Runni Anderson has an article on "Ibsen and the Classical World" (pp. 216-225.) The discussion is of *Catiline* and *Emperor and Gallilean*.

In *The Scandinavian American* Dr. A. O. Fonkalsrud, with the collaboration of Beatrice Stevenson, treats briefly of the Scandinavian element in the American population. In a somewhat sketchy way the small volume discusses also the economic influence, political, literary and social influence of the Scandinavian and his probable influence on the making of the future "American Race." Publisher, K. C. Holter, Minneapolis. Pp. 166. The work is not well edited and is printed poorly.

The Minnesota History Bulletin, I, 5, February, 1916 contains a good review of Babcock's *Scandinavian Element in the United States* (See this Journal, Vol. II, p. 60) by Theodore C. Blegen.

Proben schwedischer Sprache und Mundart. Herausgegeben von Dr. Hans Wolfgang Pollak, Wien, 1913, Pp. 77. (Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien 170, 2.) Though it is somewhat late to call attention to this publication, I should like to say that students of Swedish other than natives can find much that is helpful for the acquiring of correct colloquial Swedish pronunciation from the transcribed texts of the *riksspråk*,—they are the phonographic records of Ernst Nachmanson, Upsala, Oskar Lundberg, do., Prof. K. B. Wiklund, do., P. P. M. Samzelius, Närke, Elsa Åhrén, Östergötland, and others. The dialect of Värmland is recorded from Prof. Adolf Noreen and the dialect of Kalmar, Småland, from Prof. J. A. Lundel. Middle Swedish *riksspråk* is represented by Prof. Fredrik Wulff of Lund as the speaker. In the phonetic transcriptions the *landsmål* alphabet has been used. The author has been assisted by Gideon Danell and Bengt Hesselman.

Osebergfundet. Utgit av den norske stat. Vol. I, October, 1916.

Most of the readers of these Notes know something about the Oseberg ship found in 1904 at Oseberg immediately north of Tønsberg, Norway, and excavated soon after by Professor G. Gustafson. At the time of my visit to Norway in June-July, 1912, the ship with all objects buried in it had just been placed on exhibition, the ship in a structure built for it back of the Museum and the objects in a special room in the Historical Museum. It is by far the most remarkable and valuable find from the pagan age of Norway. The ship was evidently the ship-grave of a woman of great wealth and prominence, a queen of Vestfold in the middle of the IXth century according to the opinion of those scholars who have been engaged in the study of the find. With her were buried as complete a collection of household utensils as has been found anywhere in Northern paganism. And there was a four-wheeled wagon with its box handsomely carved, sleighs, chests, etc., etc., and the bones of a span of horses, of oxen and of dogs that had been buried with the queen that she might have in the world beyond all the needs and comforts and the luxuries that were hers in this life. There are carvings in the style of the Viking Age on the prow of the ship, and there are carved objects of other kinds testifying to an art of wood-carving not attained today, and the equal of which has nowhere been found in the North from that early age. The work which will interpret the historical, cultural, religious and philological (as the inscriptions) significance of this unparalleled find is now soon to be issued. The editors are Professor A. W. Brøgger and Professor Hjalmar Falk of Christiania University and Dr. Haakon Schetelig of the Bergen Museum of Antiquities. Vol. I by the first editor is to appear in October, 1916, Vols. II and III, October, 1917. These will be two, possibly three, more volumes to be ready in 1918. The price of all five volumes will be 300 kroner, or about \$80. Subscriptions may be sent to Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Christiania, but must be sent at once. Only subscribers in advance can secure copies. Libraries should take notice!

GEORGE T. FLOM.

SWEDISH PUBLICATIONS, RECENT AND FORTHCOMING

Selma Lagerlöf's recent book *Troll och människor* (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 336, kr. 4:75) contains, besides various biographical and autobiographical addresses and sketches, nine short stories (*Monarkmötet, Bortbytingen, En historia från Halland, Gammal fäbodsägen, Tjänsteanden, Vattnet i kyrkviken, Slätterkarlarna i Ekolsund, Den heliga bilden i Lucca, and Vägen mellan himmel och jord*). The autobiographical sketch *Två spådomar*, written at the suggestion of her German publisher in 1908, deals in the first part at some length with Selma Lagerlöf's childhood days and ends with her admission to Högre lärarinneseminariet in Stockholm at the age of twenty-three; the concluding part shows us the then famous author in Jerusalem. In *Tal vid Nobel festen 10 december 1909*, which shows us the author at her best, she represents herself as going to heaven to tell her father of her good fortune in getting the great prize (cf. Ingmar in *Jerusalem*). The speech *Hem och stat* (*Tal vid rösträttskongressen i Stockholm, juni 1915*) concludes with the words: "Det lilla mästerverket, hemmet, var vår skapelse med mannens hjälp. Det stora mästerverket, den goda staten, skall skapas av mannen, då han på allvar tar kvinnan till sin hjälpare." Interesting facts about Selma Lagerlöf are contained in the two addresses: *Anders Fryxell (Vid avtäckandet av Fryxellsbysten utanför Sunne kyrka den 24 september 1910)* and *Tavaststjernas sista sommar (Föredrag vid Svenska litteratursällskapets i Finland årshögtid den 5 februari 1912)*. The volume concludes with a sketch dealing with *Mathilda Wrede*. Especially on account of the autobiographical and personal material it contains, *Troll och människor* is one of the most interesting of the books of Selma Lagerlöf, for about the details of her life little is really known to the readers of her books.

Minnen av och om Emil Key, utgivna och utfyllda av Ellen Key (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, Vol. I, pp. 404, kr. 7:50) gives us, at least in the first volume, an acquaintance rather with the ancestors, kindred, and friends of Ellen Key's father than with the man himself. While nothing is perhaps left unsaid about Emil Key, the reader is in danger of losing sight of him—and yet the resulting knowledge of the man that is gained is more intimate and complete than it could otherwise have been. In this way we get many interesting pictures, with a richness of anecdotes, of a considerable number of prominent persons, among whom I would mention Stagnelius, Almquist, Blanche, Wetterbergh, Johan Jolin, Ingemann, Jenny Lind, Emilie Högquist, kapten (and fru) Hultin (in connection with the last-named also an anecdote about Runeberg). Kapten Hultin it was who supplied his neighbor Emil Key's children (among them Ellen K.) with fairy-tales, and the volume includes nine pages of these. Emil Key's connection with *Skandinavismen* of the middle of the last century is portrayed in detail, as is also his connection with and interest in the movement for the emancipation of woman. Numerous addresses relating to these subjects are quoted in whole or in part. The first volume, which contains many and good illustrations, takes us to 1855, six years after Emil Key's marriage. The second volume, which has not yet been received, will be larger than the first.

Amalia von Helvigs bref till Atterbom, utgivna af Hedvig Atterbom-Svenson (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, pp. 225, kr. 3:75) is a valuable aid to the

study of Atterbom. Amalia von Helvig (née von Imhoff, a niece of Frau von Stein), a friend of Schiller and Goethe and the intimate friend of Atterbom and Geijer, was married to a Swedish military man who later became a German general. The letters, which have been translated from German by the editor of the volume, evidence a warm-hearted and a helpful and self-sacrificing friend. It was she who through her advice and by helping to raise the necessary funds made possible Atterbom's foreign trip, which meant so much for his development. The volume begins with a brief sketch of Amalia's life up to the time of the beginning of the correspondence; for this the material is taken from Henriette von Bissing's "Das Leben der Dichterin Amalie von Helvig," which, however, as is pointed out, is rather unsatisfactory in its discussion of her sojourn in Sweden. The letters cover the period from 1816 to 1830, the year before the death of their author. Aside from the value of the letters as relating to Atterbom, they are of interest on account of Amalia von Helvig's own reflections on life and mankind, and for the many comments on literary men and matters of the day, especially Swedish and German that they contain. It will be remembered that Amalia von Helvig, aside from her original literary work, was the first German translator of Tegnér's *Fritiofs saga*; she also translated into German poems of Atterbom, Geijer, and others. The volume closes with an index of the names of the very numerous literary and other personages mentioned in the letters. There are reproduced the pictures of Amalia, her sister Louise, General von Helvig, and Atterbom. Unfortunately the letters from Atterbom to Amalia von Helvig are not extant, except for one, which is included in the book.

Otto Sylwan's *Fyrtioårets student, Anteckningar* (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1914, pp. 261, kr. 4:75) presents a picture of student life in Upsala and Lund as it was in the forties. The author constantly makes comparisons between the two universities, which show not a few differences, these being due partly to naturally differing conditions, and partly to greater conservatism or progressiveness in one or the other of the institutions. I can best give an idea of the nature of the book by quoting the titles of the chapters: Den gamla tiden, Studier, Organisation, Hvardagslif, Slagsmål, Studentsången—Gluntarne, Fester, Den nya andan, Skandinavismen, 1848. At the end of the volume there are a few notes and explanations, including a bibliography of seven of the more important works dealing with the subject treated. The book is abundantly supplied with illustrations from the times, and reproductions of title pages and headings of various of the periodicals and other publications of the day.

August Lindberg, *Barndoms- och ungdomsminnen* (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, andra upplagan, 1915, pp. 194, kr. 2:50) is an autobiography of the famous actor up to the time when he established his first connection with the theatrical world (where the account in *Nordisk familjebok* begins). The book is written in a vivid, chatty style, and depicts well the hard days of Mr. Lindberg's early life; there are included several illustrations. Mr. Lindberg, who is especially famous for his Ibsen and Shakespeare rolls, is known also in America and England.

Svenska kvinnor från skilda verksamhetsområden, Biografisk uppslagsbok, utarbetad av Walborg Hedberg och Louise Arosenius på uppdrag av Årsta-

utställningens centralkommitté (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1914, pp. 115, kr. 7:50) is a Who's Who of Swedish women of prominence. It contains about 900 names, of which a few are accompanied by photographs.

The Journal *Fataburen* (*Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*, the organ of Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, edited by Gustaf Upmark) for 1915 contains among other articles and reviews several that should be called to the attention of our readers. Hammarstedt, *Olsmessa och Torsblot* concludes by saying: "hvad jag vill påstå är, att de bägge (i.e., julbocken and Torsbocken) leda sina anor från en gemensam urfader, skördebocken. . ." Number 2 of Vol. 1915 contains supplementary remarks to this article, and the first number of 1916 contains *Elias, äskguden (Ännu ett tillägg till Olsmessa och Torsblot)*. In *Runinskrifter från Dalarna* Sigurd Erixon interprets sixteen inscriptions from the period 1688-1858. The forms of the runes are given in each case, and most of the objects are reproduced photographically. The author shows by a citation from Abr. Hülphers *Dagbok öfver en resa genom Stora Kopparbergs Höjdinge döme* (1763) that runes were in the eighteenth century even used as a means of communication: "I förra tider war den seden här på orten, att då flyttningen skedde till Fäbodarna, hafwa de ristat på en spån, hwar nyckeln legat till Wisthuset. Om Någon främmande då kommit och behöft förplägning, har den i wägen instuckna spån med Runskriften blifwit upsökt. Men sedermera hafwa de blifwit försigtigare." (Cf. *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 226, where mention is made of a study by Professor Noreen dealing with runes from Dalarna from about the same period.) In a memorial to Johan Ernst Rietz, the author of *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, Hammarstedt gives a brief account of this scholar's life together with a list of his works. From among the numerous articles of a more distinctly cultural nature, attention might be called to Louise Hagberg's *Käpp och krycka och kyrkeståt*, in which certain expressions and ceremonies connected with the marriage-ceremony and its preliminaries are explained. There is appended to the volume *Redogörelse för Nordiska Museets utveckling och förvaltning år 1914*. . . , which among other things contains descriptions, and in many cases also illustrations, of the objects of cultural interest acquired by the museum during the year named. Included are also the reports on Skansen and on Kungliga Lifruskammaren. The first number for 1916, in addition to the article mentioned above, contains among other things "Ta jultuppen" and "sticka ögonen ur skomakaren" and *Klotformig sten använd för älfkult*. The pages of the journal, which is now in its eleventh year, are replete with illustrations of objects of cultural interest.

The Journal *Namn och bygd* (*Tidskrift för nordisk ortnamnsforskning*), of which the first volume was published in 1913, is probably not yet generally known among Scandinavianists in this country. The editors are Anders Grape, Oskar Lundberg and Jöran Sahlgren; docent Sahlgren (address, Lund) is the editor-in-chief. Beginning with the present year, Dr. Marius Kristensen (for Denmark), Prof. Magnus Olsen (for Norway), and Prof. Hugo Pipping (for Finland) will also be on the editorial staff. The place of publication is Upsala (A.-B. Akademiska bokhandeln i distribution). Four numbers are published annually, with a page total of 192 per year; the price is 5 kronor. The journal devotes attention not only to the place-names of the Scandinavian countries

and Finland, but also to English place-names of Scandinavian origin. In the announcement we read: "... det säger sig självt att en publikation, vars syfte är att samla och bekantgöra resultaten av en forskning, vilken har så mycket att giva även åt den krets, som ligger utanför fackmännens, också räknar på intresse och understöd från den stora allmänhetens sida. I tidskriftens program ingår därför även användandet av ett så långt möjligt lättillgängligt framställningssätt." It is especially the abundant material relating to Scandinavian life that will be of interest to this larger public, for, as the editors point out, the etymology of place-names, as of other words, must be approached from the cultural point of view as well as from the purely linguistic one. The articles are freely supplied with illustrations and maps wherever there is occasion for these. Each volume closes with reviews of leading works dealing with place-names, a bibliographical account of works of the previous year that (even briefly) include discussions on this subject, and an index of the place-names occurring in the articles, reviews, or bibliography contained in each volume. From Vol. 1913 I call attention to Marius Kristensen's *Slednavnesagens nuværende stilling i Danmark*, in which is related the beginning of the study of Danish place-names, after the precedent of Norway, where the work is nearly finished, and Sweden, where it has only begun (see *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 226). Dr. Kristensen calls upon the Swedes to cooperate with the Danes by commencing at once the investigation of the names of Southern Sweden (Skåne and Halland), which are intimately connected with those of Denmark. In *Den heliga murgrönan (Till ortnamnet Vrindavi)* Oskar Lundberg leads the origin of the goddess Rindr and her name to the plant and plant-name *rind* (= ivy) found only in the speech of the island of Gottland. Harald Lindkvist's *Middle-English place-names of Scandinavian origin, Part I* is reviewed at length by Erik Björkman. Vol. 1915 (320 pages) was published also in a special edition in honor of Professor Noreen on his sixtieth birthday; this contains thirty-eight articles, which for want of space must here be unmentioned. Vol. 1915 contains among other things *Är Skåne de gamles Scadinavia* by Lindroth, who finds the two words etymologically unrelated. In an article entitled *Härnevi (Ett bidrag till frågan om beröringen mellan svensk och finsk mytologi)*, Lindroth concludes that this place-name contains the name of an ancient Scandinavian snake-dragon divinity (going back at least to the Later Bronze Age, and belonging to the same cultural sphere as Ull and Skade), developed out of the cult of the spirits of ancestors, to whom valuables were dug down into the ground either for safe-keeping or as offerings; the divinity as well as the name were borrowed into the Finnish (Aarni, Aarnio) and thence into Lappish. The author also discusses two previous articles on the same subject, one by Magnus Olsen and the other by Oskar Lundberg and Hans Sperber. Another noteworthy contribution from this volume is that by Jöran Sahlgren, *Blåkulla och blåkullafärderne (En språklig och mythistorisk undersökning)*, which splendidly typifies the aim of the journal as to readability and general appeal.

Those engaged in the preparation of Scandinavian text-books for American schools should read the review on a number of our Scandinavian text-books contained in the Spring Educational Number of the *Nation*, May 4, 1916. Our text-books are here, not unjustly, characterized as unsatisfactory. Individual attention is paid to nine books, both Swedish and Norwegian.

The attention of publishers and editors of Scandinavian plays edited for use in American schools is called to an article in *Poet Lore* (Boston, 1916, number 1) by Arthur Swan entitled *The Typography of Plays*. The author criticizes the present practise and gives a specimen set up in accordance with his recommendations. The name of the speaker should not be centered, nor should it begin the first line of the part spoken; stage directions should not be enclosed in parentheses or brackets. The name of the speaker as well as the stage directions should be printed in smaller type than the text and should begin at the type margin and on a separate line (with inverse indentation in stage directions in case of a second line); when stage directions follow immediately upon the name of a speaker, only a comma separates these, and the name of the speaker should be printed in capitals only when introducing a speech. In the course of the discussion reference is made among others to the 1903 edition of Strindberg's plays and to the first edition of *Rosmersholm*. The author finds the typographical practise of France, Germany, and Scandinavia superior to that of England and America.

Vol. II, p. 123 of *Publications of the S. A. S. S.* contains the announcement of three Strindberg text-editions for use in American schools to be published by Albert Bonniers förlag of Stockholm. The plays *Mäster Olof* and *Påsk* have been selected for two of the volumes; the third will contain selections from Strindberg's non-dramatic writings. As a result of a change in the plans, these text-editions will be prepared by Professor Joseph Alexis alone. *Påsk* will be issued first, and should be ready for use in the autumn.

Gustaf Fröding's *Selected Poems*, translated from the Swedish with an introduction by Charles Wharton Stork (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916, pp. 168, \$1.25), which was announced in *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 300, has now appeared. In the introduction the translator says: "The present translator has endeavored first to live himself into the originals, and then to reproduce them in English as if he were writing them for the first time. He has above all aimed at producing vital English poetry; along with that he has tried to be as faithful to detail as his primary purpose would allow." These are clearly excellent principles for rendering poetry into another language in metrical form. The translator points out that Swedish lyric poetry, the field in which the Swedes excel, is but little known to the English-speaking world, and the reason is not hard to find. Mr. Stork has here performed a good service to those not able to read Fröding in the original. The volume contains more than forty poems. The introduction deals with the life and works of the poet; a page and a half of notes at the close of the volume offers explanations to various details in the poems.

The April-May number of the *American-Scandinavian Review* contains the announcement of a translation from Selma Lagerlöf by Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard, *The Emperor of Portugallia*, to be published by Doubleday, Page and Company. After this there will follow, by the same translator, Part II of Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem* (for a note on Part I, see *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 300).

There has just appeared a second edition of Jessie Brochner's translation from Selma Lagerlöf, *From a Swedish Homestead* (Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1916, pp. 348, \$1.35), which was originally published in 1901. This volume contains *En herrgårdssågen*, *Drottningar i Kungahälla*, and several short stories. I shall make only one criticism, which, indeed, applies to most of the translations from Swedish: Proper nouns are neither adequately nor consistently treated. A page containing an alphabetically arranged pronouncing list of proper nouns whose pronunciation is not clear from the spelling would be a great help. How, for instance, would the reader pronounce *Stårdsjö*, *Stafva*, *Hjalle*? *Älin* has been changed to *Alin*, and *Råglanda* to *Raglanda*, while *Sigrid Storråda* appears as *Sigrid Storråde*. It is to be hoped that publishers and translators will not so generally overlook the not unimportant question of proper names.

Lilja (*Den nordiska medeltidens förnämsta religiösa dikt*) af den isländske munken Eysteinn Ásgrímsson, öfversatt af Axel Åkerblom (C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, Lund, 1916, pp. 32, 75 öre; also appeared in the *Journal Bibelforskaren*, Vol. 33, 1916, pp. 9-38). In an introduction of nine pages the translator gives an account of the life of the author, the story of the writing of the poem, a brief characterization of the times, together with a statement about the great popularity of this poem; two pages are devoted to an account of the leading metrical peculiarities of the Icelandic work. The translation imitates the versification of the original. There are a few explanatory foot-notes.

De sydsvenska folknamnen hos Jordanes av J. V. Svensson (Författarens förlag, Karlstad, pp. 70, kr. 1:25; medföljer *Redogörelse för Karlstads högre allmänna läroverk för läsåret 1913-1914*) takes under scrutiny anew the names of Scandinavian peoples mentioned in Jordanes and makes valuable suggestions toward the identification of some of the names that have hitherto been dark. The author comments on the fact that in past investigations practically no attention has been given to the question as to whether Jordanes' information came from one source or more than one. Svensson's conclusion is that there were two sources, a fuller one from which Jordanes learned the names from the west coast, and another source (far less detailed) that gave him the names from the North and East, and which reached him by the eastern route. In the forms of the names he finds the clues to the proper division of the two groups. The names of several peoples are mentioned twice, by different names. In the course of his discussion Svensson also reviews briefly the writers before Jordanes from whom we have names dealing with Scandinavia, pointing out in each case the route or direction of the transmission of the information to the writer.

Rolf Nordenstreng's *Vikingafärderna* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 207, kr. 3:75) gives in a readable and clear form an interesting account of the Viking expeditions and of Viking life. Owing to the lack heretofore of a book in Swedish treating this subject, the present work will be particularly welcome. The first five chapters deal with the history of the Scandinavian countries before the Viking period, the beginning, causes, and directions of the expeditions, and the ships, weapons, equipment, armies, and method of

warfare of the Vikings. Chapter six discusses in detail the activities of the Vikings in the West and South, the seventh chapter, and for this book quite naturally the most important one, the operations in the East, the founding of the Russian Empire, and expeditions by way of Russia. In the final chapter, entitled "Vikingarnas kultur," the mutual cultural influences of the Vikings and the foreign nations with whom they came into contact are briefly discussed, but here, as the author points out, there is especially much that still calls for investigation by scholars. The author emphasizes particularly throughout the book the fact that not a few Swedes took part in the Viking expeditions to the West and South, and he also points out clearly the share the Icelanders, Norwegians and Danes had in the expeditions eastward. The volume contains a number of illustrations, some of which have been prepared at the direction of the author by John Sjösvärd.

From Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, the following books belonging to the domain of *belles lettres* and not mentioned above have been received: Henning Berger, *Films* (1914), Ernst Didring, *Malm* (*I, Männen, som gjorde det*, tredje upplagan, 1915; *II, Bergets sång*, andra upplagan, 1915), Vilhelm Ekelund, *Nordiskt och klassiskt, Aforismer* (1914), Tor Hedberg, *Borga gård, Skådespel i fyra akter* (1915), Ludvig Nordström, *Bottenhavsfiskare* (1914).

From the same firm there have been received the following books not mentioned above: Gustaf Hellström, *Vår tids ungdom* (In "Ur det moderna samhällslivet," Ny serie, No. 4, 1914), G. A. Jaederholm, *Undersökningar över intelligensmätningarnas teori och praxis* (*I, II*, 1914), Georg Pauli, *Konstens socialisering* (1915), Charles Richet, *Kriget—det förgångna, Freden—framtiden* (translated by Hannes and Efraim Sköld, Vol. 15 in the series "Vetenskap och Bildning," 1914).

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The *Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* met at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on Friday and Saturday, May 5 and 6, 1916. The sessions were held in University Hall, Room 112.

FIRST SESSION, FRIDAY, MAY 5, 2:00 P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, introducing President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin, who in welcoming the Society spoke of the value of Scandinavian study and of his own interest in certain phases of it. President Van Hise also gave a brief account of his recent visit to Scandinavia.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. Alliteration and Variation in Old Germanic and Early Norwegian Name-Giving. By Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois. (30 minutes). The paper was discussed by Professor Jules Mauritzson, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, and the author. The section of this paper that treats of Old Germanic will be printed in the *Modern Language Notes* for November, 1916.

2. Några anteckningar vid studiet av Heidenstams senaste diktsamling. By Professor Jules Mauritzson of Augustana College. (20 minutes). To be published in the November issue of the *Publications*.

3. Attempts to date the *Speculum Regale*. By Professor Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois. (15 minutes). The paper was discussed by Professor Julius E. Olson. To be printed by the American-Scandinavian Foundation as a part of the Introduction to the author's translation of the *Speculum Regale*, about to go to Press.

4. A Program of the Study of the *Fornaldarsögur*. By Professor Chester N. Gould of the University of Chicago. (25 minutes).

5. The Critical Reception of Ibsen in Germany. By Mr. William H. Eller, at the University of Wisconsin. (15 minutes).

6. Notes on the *Nornagestsþáttur*. By Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin. (10 minutes). Printed herewith, pp. 105-111.

7. Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas. (20 minutes). Printed herewith, pp. 112-133.

Thereupon the President appointed the following committees: (1) To audit the treasurer's report, Dr. Lee M. Hollander and Professor A. Louis Elmquist. (2) To nominate officers, Professors Julius E. Olson and A. M. Sturtevant and Miss Ebba M. Norman. (3) To present resolutions, Miss Maren Michelet and Professor Jules Mauritzson.

There were thirty-four present at this session.

At 6:30 the Society was the guest at a dinner given by the Yggdrasil Society of Madison at Park Hotel. The dinner was followed by a program consisting of short talks interspersed with Scandinavian songs, sung by the two societies under the direction of Professor Julius E. Olson. Mr. E. B. Stensland bade the Society welcome and introduced the toastmaster, Professor Julius E. Olson. The following persons spoke on the subjects named: Professor Chester N. Gould, The Value of Scandinavian Literature; Professor Jules Mauritzson, Our Society; Professor Laurence M. Larson, My Days in Madison; Professor

George T. Flom, The Publications of the Society; Professor Joseph Alexis, The Membership of the Society; Professor A. M. Sturtevant, How I Became Interested in Scandinavia; Miss Maren Michelet, The Scandinavian Languages in the Schools. The toastmaster then called upon State Supt. O. S. Rice, Hon. N. P. Haugen, and Justice A. J. Vinje, all of whom responded with speeches that bespoke a deep interest in the work of the Society. Besides the songs mentioned, *Värmlandssövisan* and a number of other solos were sung by Miss Ebba M. Norman of Minneapolis, and Professor Olson and Mr. Halvorsen rendered selections from Wennerberg's *Gluntarne*. There were seventy present at the banquet.

SECOND SESSION, SATURDAY, MAY 6, 9:00 A. M.

(The Executive Council held a session at 8:30 and discussed various matters to be presented to the consideration of the Society at the regular business meeting.)

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

8. The Valkyrie Episode in the Volsung-Niblung Story. By Dr. Henning Larson of the University of Iowa. (20 minutes). The paper was discussed by Professor George T. Flom. To be published in the *Publications*.

9. Subconscious Elements in the Composition of *Peer Gynt*. By Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin. (15 minutes). Discussion by Professors Jules Mauritzson, A. M. Sturtevant, and the author.

10. The Scandinavian Languages in Modern Language Study. By Miss Maren Michelet of the South High School, Minneapolis. (20 minutes). Discussion by Professors A. Louis Elmquist, Chester N. Gould, George T. Flom and the author. Printed in part herewith, pp. 213-216.

11. Our Text-books. By Professor A. Louis Elmquist of Northwestern University. (15 minutes). To be published in part in an early issue of the *Publications*.

The Editor presented as his report the three issues of the *Publications* II, 3 and 4 and III, 1. He spoke briefly of present conditions and of plans for the enlargement of the Volume to 320 pages to be issued annually, Vol. III to be completed in November. The American-Scandinavian Foundation has appropriated for the benefit of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study the sum of \$250 in support of the *Publications* during the current year. The report was accepted.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed an increase in membership of 160 during the past year. The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and accepted with the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

It was then moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to prepare and submit at the next annual meeting of the Society an outline of a college course of study for persons preparing to teach Scandinavian in the secondary schools.

It was also moved and carried that the Society add the office of Educational Secretary, the work of which will lie mainly with the secondary schools; also that the Educational Secretary elected shall confer with the President and Secretary-Treasurer as to the duties of the office and as to the appointment of persons to assist in the work of the office.

An appropriation of \$200 was made as annual salary of the Secretary-Treasurer, and an appropriation of \$200 was made for the expenses of the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers thereupon reported as follows:

For President, Professor Chester N. Gould of the University of Chicago.

For Vice-President, Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin.

For Editor of Publications, Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois.

For Associate-Editor, Professor A. Louis Elmquist of Northwestern University.

For Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

For Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of the South High School, Minneapolis.

As District Secretaries:

1. Central District, Professor J. A. Holvik of Waldorf College (Forest City, Iowa).

2. Northern District, Professor A. A. Stomberg of the University of Minnesota.

3. Eastern District, Dr. Halldór Hermansson of Cornell University.

4. Western District, Professor R. Bogstad of Columbia College (Everett, Wash.).

As members of the Advisory Committee for three years:

1. Dr. A. LeRoy Andrews of Cornell University.

2. Dr. Henning Larson of the University of Iowa.

These nominees were elected.

The following resolution was then presented by Professor George T. Flom and adopted by the Society:

At this time when the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study in annual session is assembled at the University of Wisconsin, where Professor Julius E. Olson is this year rounding out his thirty-third year of untiring effort in the cause of Scandinavian languages and literature, be it resolved that we as a Society extend to him a vote of appreciation and gratitude, and our heartiest wishes to him as a fellow-worker that he may enjoy many more years in the cause for which he has labored so ably and with a devotion and an enthusiasm that we all admire.

A vote of thanks was extended to Professor Joseph Alexis, Secretary-Treasurer, for the work done during the year.

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following resolution: The Society wishes to express its gratitude to President Charles R. Van Hise and to faculty members of the University of Wisconsin for the welcome extended to the Society and to the Yggdrasil Society, for their hospitality, and to Professor Julius E. Olson, Miss Annette Nelson, and Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the Committee on Local Arrangements.

There were twenty-three present at this session.

Adjournment at 12:30.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

MEMBERS

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

For Denmark,	Prof. Dr. Axel Olrik
For Iceland,	Prof. Dr. Finnur Jónsson
For Norway,	Prof. Dr. Magnus Olsen
For Sweden,	{ Prof. Dr. Axel Kock
	{ Prof. Dr. Adolf Noreen
For Finland,	Prof. Dr. Hugo Pipping
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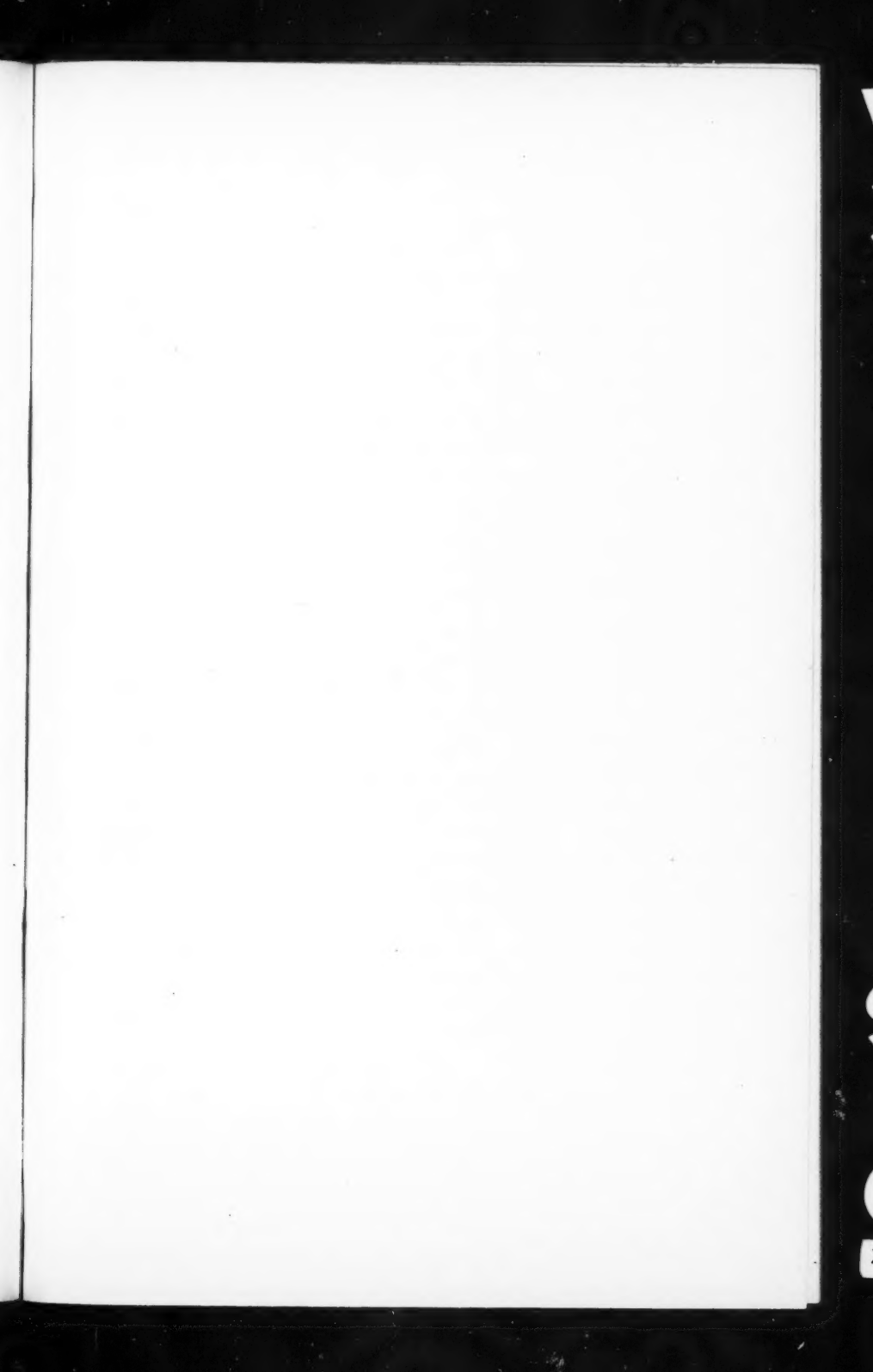
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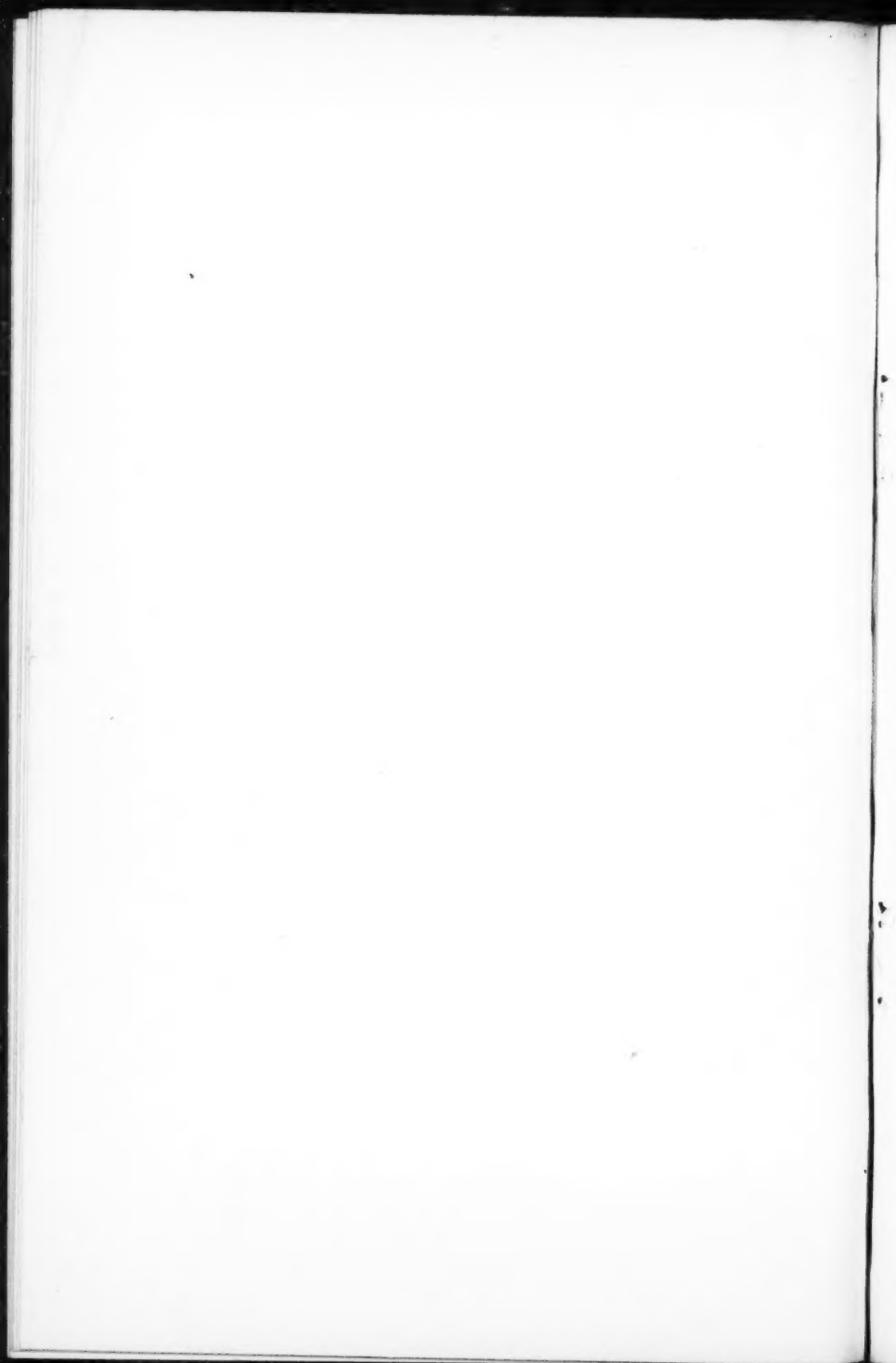
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KNUT HAMSON

The economic and social influence of the returned emigrant on almost every country of Europe is a fact with which we are all familiar. Through him the New World has become schoolmaster to the Old. But we are not so familiar with the back currents of American "kultur" in the literature of Europe. And yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that these are as significant as the impress of America on matters more material (furniture, for instance, or dress). The plays and novels of Björnson and Ibsen are full of reminiscences of the promised land this side the Atlantic. Much of Knut Hamsun's work is touched and colored by his experiences here. He found, indeed, no land flowing with milk and honey, but for all that there entered into his blood the iron of western pioneers. The prairies of North Dakota, the pineries of Minnesota, the streets of young Chicago were of the school in which he learned his art.

The first glimpse of Hamsun in America we find in the memoirs of Kristoffer Janson, a Norwegian poet and clergyman who, in the early eighties, embarked on the dubious venture of founding a Norwegian Unitarian church in Minneapolis. He succeeded, wonderful to say, quite beyond expectations. In the end the congregation built a modest church on the South Side, and Janson made it the center of fresh and vigorous literary and intellectual life. No sooner had some book of Norwegian literature come from the press than Janson read it at the Sunday evening assembly. There were, besides, the usual clubs and dinners and fairs of a Western American church. The burden of all this fell, of course, on the pastor—and his right-hand man Knut Hamsun. "I met him," Janson tells us, "quite by accident in the little town of Madelia.—I noticed a tall, erect fellow with gold-rimmed glasses and an aristocratic, intelligent face who was working in a lumberyard and who spoke Norwegian. I struck up a conversation with him. I asked him if he was satisfied to go on sorting boards in a lumberyard.

Of course he was not satisfied.

And wouldn't he prefer some sort of intellectual work?

Certainly. But where could one get it?

I told him that I needed a secretary—and asked him if he had any sort of religious interest.

No, most certainly not!

I explained to him the tenets of Unitarianism—that they flatly rejected many of the dogmas which seemed to him repulsive and immoral. I added that if he had no religious interests now, he might perhaps acquire them on this track.

Well, he would try. And so it was that Hamsun came to me. But any hopes I might have cherished that he would develop religious interests were sadly disappointed. He came to have an increasing repugnance for anything that smacked of theology."

Hamsun remained in Minneapolis as Janson's more or less inefficient secretary for about a year. A panic over what he supposed to be incipient quick consumption sent him hurrying back to Norway. Within a year or two he was again buffeting about between the Dakotas and Chicago. There is a lively sketch of him in these strenuous years in a little account which Cecil Kröger wrote a quarter of a century later in the Kristiania newspaper *Dagbladet*—"One Autumn evening, at one of the weekly discussions in Janson's church, there appeared a stranger whom I had not before noticed, but who immediately compelled attention. His delicate and sharply chiselled face, his tall, powerful figure, his lively bearing and witty conversation, his whole unique personality, were in violent contrast to his surroundings. His resemblance to Björnson was striking, and it was obvious that he tried to make the most of the likeness and to imitate him—a thing which irritated, as all imitation irritates.—This man was Knut Hamsun, then 28 years old. He had just come to town from the interior, from a farm in Dakota, where he had been employed as a laborer all summer. Just before that he had been a street-car conductor in Chicago. And now he had saved up enough money, as he believed, to live through the winter without completely starving."

In the summer of 1888, Mr. R. B. Anderson, now editor of the Norwegian weekly newspaper, *Amerika*, published at Madison, Wisconsin, then American minister at the court of Denmark, was returning to his post after a short vacation. One day in mid-Atlantic, as he lounged about on the lower deck among the steerage passengers, he suddenly noticed a young fellow who had come to his home in Madison some years before with a letter of introduction from Björnson. He recognized Hamsun. He was not an inviting figure—dirty, ragged, and worse than unkempt, and at that moment

he was gambling for small stakes with equally disreputable companions on the cover of one of the hatches. Mr. Anderson invited him to the promenade deck, talked with him and did his best to be friendly. Hamsun wore in his coat lapel a bit of black ribbon. Mr. Anderson inquired solicitously for whom he was in mourning—for some relative, perhaps?

"No," said Hamsun, defiantly, "for the martyrs of the Hay-market."

After that the respectable scholar and diplomat shut his heart and the doors of the American legation against this radical vagabond. Hamsun tried to interest Mr. Anderson in a huge mass of manuscript, enough, it seemed to him, to make a book of a thousand pages. But in vain. "Knut Hamsun is in my mind an anarchist, and I had no use for people of that ilk." He lost the opportunity of further nourishing his dislike by reading the grotesque satire of Hamsun's first complete book, *Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv*.

Knut Hamsun was left to his own resources in Grub Street in Copenhagen. Three months of mad, hopeless struggle, of rebuffs, misery, aching disappointment, and then the most brilliant debut in Scandinavian letters—the little fragment of *Sult* which appeared in the Danish review *Ny Jord*, October, 1888.

Hamsun was born in Vaage, in Gudbrandsdalen, in the very heart of Norway, on August 4, 1860. He came of solid farmer stock, of a family distinguished among its neighbors for artistic feeling and power; his father, for example, was a skilled worker in metals. At the age of four his parents moved to Lofoten in the far North and Hamsun's childhood years were spent in that strange troll-land of the sagas. We have at the very threshold of English literature King Alfred's luminous description of Nordland in his translation of Orosius' "History of the World." And in Hamsun's youth the land was not greatly changed from the limitless waste which Ohthere saw in the days of "Alfred cyning." It is a land of violent contrasts. On a quiet summer's day the great ocean lies unending and motionless, bearing on its bosom the torn and sundered islands; the discordant cries of the seafowl flood the warm, soft air. In the valleys, the glowing, everlasting sunlight awakens into being a flora more luxuriant than that of the southern coast about Bergen. For three or four months

there is still, intense, passionate life. But when the sun falls for the last time under the brim of the ocean and the darkness covers the land, the cries of the seagulls are stilled, and the silence is only broken as the storm hurls the waves in a mighty assault on the cliffs of the shore, and the winds toss the old pines on the mountains. Only the moon and the stars give light, save when earth and sea and sky lie bathed in the glow of the Aurora Borealis flaming in the nothern heavens. It is a land of witchery and magic. In the sagas the trolls live there, and from Finmarken come the magicians of Old Norse song and story.

The people, too, present the same intense contrasts. Here are the Norwegian fishermen, resolute and resourceful, but not a little superstitious, and uncannily suspicious of others. Here are the stolid, thrifty, cunning Russian merchants and traders—and here everywhere are the Finns and the Lapps, with the blood and the language and the moods of remote, inaccessible peoples.

Here Knut Hamsun lived for nearly twenty years, sharing to the full the rich life of the long summer day and brooding under the stars and the northern lights of winter. The deep tones of the ocean reverberated in his soul; the song of the pines and the cries of the seafowl mingled in his dreams. He came to know the people in their bigness and their littleness, but better than the people, he came to know the mystery and the wonder of the land. In one of the little sketches of a miscellany published in 1903, he has given us a glimpse of his life in Lofoten:

"I spent several years of my childhood with an uncle in a rectory in Nordland. I had a rather rough time of it—hard work, severe floggings, and hardly an hour for play or amusement. So harsh did my uncle's regimen become that I soon found my only pleasure in stealing away and being alone. On those rare days when I got an hour or two to myself, I wandered away into the forest or up to the churchyard, and drifted about among the crosses and the gravestones, and dreamed and brooded and talked to myself."

In 1878 Hamsun found himself in the little town of Bodö, situated at almost the southern bound of the midnight sun. He tried his hand at literature, with no better success than two trifling juvenilia to which no one paid the slightest attention. Then he was successively charcoal burner, schoolteacher, helper to a local police official, and day laborer in the quarries and on the highways. All this led to nothing, and before long, like many another poor

devil, Hamsun went off to America to look for gold. He found nothing but vulgarity and disappointment. In 1885 he was back in Norway. In Kristiania he more or less successfully fought off starvation by writing an occasional article or sketch for *Dagbladet* and by giving an iconoclastic lecture or two on contemporary writers, notably Kielland and Strindberg. In the autumn of 1886 he returned to America, kept body and soul together by hard manual labor and accumulated nothing more than a contempt for a country he would not understand. Of his return to Copenhagen, of his struggles and his pitiful sufferings, of his overwhelming success with *Sult* I have already spoken. He had found his Eldorado.

In 1889 came his first complete volume—*Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv* (Of American Culture). On this precious volume I shall waste no time. It is not lacking in insight—there are some things in our life concerning which a foreign critic who looks about him with sharp eyes cannot go far wrong. He is right, too—accidentally right—in his estimate of Emerson as a brilliant and spiritual talker, not in any sense an original thinker—an estimate which agrees in substance with Matthew Arnold's criticism in his lecture on Emerson. But the book as a whole is an amazing display of blindly perverse misunderstanding. By comparison, Charles Dickens' "American Notes" is panegyric, and Mrs. Trollopoe's "Domestic Manners of the Americans," dispassionate and fair. To such a diatribe no answer is possible, unless it be that of a celebrated English churchman to the sixteenth chapter of Gibbon's *History*, "Who can refute a sneer?" What community is there under the sun of which a similar criticism could not be written? The poet of Nordland could not see the poetry of the Melting Pot. He saw only the tawdry ugliness of Halsted Street and Cedar Avenue.

We may turn directly, therefore, to *Sult* (Hunger), the record of his struggles in Grub Street, which, greatly expanded, was published in book form in 1890. It was followed in 1892 by *Mysterier*, "a potpourri of moods, aphorisms, and sarcasms that weave themselves about a thin love story." In the winter of 1891-92, Hamsun, in the exuberance of his sudden popularity, delivered a series of lectures in which he demolished the work of Ibsen and Björnson, Kielland and Lie, as empty and soulless "Tendenzdichtung"; but the novels which he wrote as symbolical of the new era he prophesied, *Redaktør Lyng*e and *Ny Jord*, were

as blatantly realistic as anything in the plays and novels of the masters, and they were hopelessly inferior as works of art. The imaginative interpretation of contemporary life was not then Hamsun's field. He found himself in the novels that followed—"Pan" (1894), "Victoria," an exquisite idyll of romantic love (1898), "Enthusiasts" (1904), "Under the Harvest Star" (1906), "Benoni" (1908), "Rosa" (1908), "A Wanderer Plays with Muted Strings" (1910), and "The Ultimate Joy" 1912.

Hamsun's two avowedly realistic novels have fared ill at the hands of the critics. Save for "Carl Morburger" who, in 1910, ventured to call "Shallow Soil" (*Ny Jord*) his maturest and artistically best work, they have been inclined to agree with Carl Nærup's dictum on "Editor Lynge" (*Redaktør Lynge*) that it is "pale, pointless, banal, written throughout in a mechanically smooth and impersonal style." It cannot be denied that this verdict is *not* unjust to "Editor Lynge." The novel lacks distinction. It is mediocre journeyman work to a degree. In purpose it is savage onslaught on the hollowness, commercialism, and selfish malice of the daily press. The satire on the country jay who comes to the city and fights his way to the editorial chair of a great newspaper, gaining the while a certain outward polish, but remaining in his heart the same coarse fellow he was, is, however, not inept. But one feels throughout that the method is that of the pamphleteer. It has nothing to do with art. The same verdict cannot be passed on "Shallow Soil." Here Hamsun has drawn a powerful and convincing portrait of a band of disillusioned, futile, whiskey-drinking ne'er-do-wells who affect to cultivate the arts and who imagine that they are the illuminati, men not of common clay whom the state owes a living and the people, obedience and kow-tows. Opposite these blasé, soulless gods of letters, Hamsun has placed the sturdy, honorable, hard-working merchants Henriksen and Tidemand, whose only weakness is that they reverence the sons of the Muses and consent uncomplainingly to foot the bills. But the finest thing of all is the character of Aagot, Henriksen's betrothed, who comes to the city fresh and simple as the roses in her own rectory garden to be poisoned and withered to the soul in this close, pestilent air. The psychology of Aagot's spiritual ruin is admirably conceived, and told with a delicate, comprehending sympathy. "Shallow Soil" is doubtless overdrawn—what good novel of manners does not

present a heightened picture?—but as a study of the literary salon of Kristiania in the eighties it has more than ephemeral value, and in *Aagot*, Hamsun has given an appealing, if not strikingly original study in character. How far short even this novel falls of essential greatness—that is, of being an illumination and revelation of life—can best be seen when we compare it with another novel on a kindred theme—Strindberg's *Röda rummet*.

"Editor Lynge" is already forgotten and even "Shallow Soil" has no lasting claim on immortality, but in a series of novels and sketches from "Hunger" (1890) to "The Ultimate Joy" (1912) Hamsun has revealed with magic, almost uncanny vision the deeps of the soul. These novels are vibrant with subtle, inarticulate emotions, eloquent with the haunting music of song. And they are stamped with the seal of life everlasting.

The finest is unquestionably "Pan" (1894). It is interesting to compare it with a typical story of Henry James' of approximately the same length, say "The Aspern Papers." Henry James is a subtle, immensely skillful analyst—no motive escapes him, no train of causation however subtle and dark. And it is all revealed with the precision of an immensely refined, immensely cunning style. Henry James almost recreates the language, that it may convey hints of shades and fleeting suggestions of nuances. You marvel, to be sure, you admire, occasionally you understand; but you are not moved. There can be no passion in a scientific dissection; no love or flaming wrath, and without love and wrath there can be no supreme literature. Hamsun does not dissect—a dissecting knife in his hands would cut and tear, but he feels and sings as a lyric poet feels and sings, out of the depths. His novels are the living utterances of intimate personal feelings; they glow and burn with an incandescent radiance. He sings himself. He does not analyze an emotion. He lives it. For this reason all his novels are autobiographical in the sense that they voice his own spiritual life. The nameless outcast in "Hunger," Nagel in "Mysteries," Lieutenant Glahn in "Pan," Johannes Möller in "Victoria," and the teller of the tale in "Under the Harvest Star," even Høibro in "Editor Lynge," and the strange old schoolmaster Coldevin in "Shallow Soil"—these are all but masks for Knut Hamsun.

And this accounts, I think, for the chief characteristic of the novelist—his searching insight into the soul of man. No writer of prose fiction in Norway has ever penetrated so deeply into those

fugitive moods which determine ultimately our conscious mental life and our outward acts. Kielland could draw life with greater fidelity, and Jonas Lie has a saner, more organic vision, and immensely greater powers of synthesis, but neither cared to penetrate the twilight zone of wayward and fleeting impressions. To Knut Hamsun these evanescent states are life—and therefore the wanderer becomes a microcosm of mankind. The vagabond and eccentric, if not typical, is at least true. He drifts because he cannot rest, and he sweeps suddenly from one emotion to its opposite—life is fluid.

You may open Hamsun at random. The power that gives character to his work from first to last is this clairvoyance, this insight into the moving, changing flow in the deep of the heart of man. One finds it most dramatically expressed in the fantasies of "Hunger"—those hectic, glowing, restless moods, shifting in an instant from still contemplation to wild grotesqueness. The nameless poet, the record of whose sufferings the book purports to be, endures the most poignant agonies of starvation, but no sooner do a few dollars fall into his hands than, on a mere impulse, he throws them away on the first beggar who happens along. Reflection, thought, there is none—all is of emotion and impulse.

And the wild stories that sweep through the fancies of this half-starved wretch! By chance he strikes up a conversation with an old man on a bench in a public park. The stranger asks the poet's address and when the latter answers at random "St. Olavsgade 2," is reminded that an old acquaintance of his lived there. "And what is your landlord's name?"

I hit upon a name in a hurry.

"Happolati," I said—

And then follows an amazing improvisation about this shadowy Happolati who never was on sea or land.

As he sits on the bench, he looks at his shoes—"and I experienced at this moment a strange and fantastic emotion that I had never before known—my nerves felt a subtle, marvelous shock as of a vein of fire coursing through them. Looking at my shoes I felt as though I had met an old acquaintance or recovered some part of me that had been torn away—a feeling of recognition trembles in my senses, tears come to my eyes, and I sense my shoes as a subdued melody softly coming toward me. 'Weakness!' I tell myself harshly; I clench my fists and mutter, 'Mere weakness!' I made

fun of these hallucinations, consciously mocked and ridiculed myself. I spoke very sensibly and very sternly, and I forced my eyes shut to keep the tears back. And as though I had never before seen my shoes, I began to study their appearance, their mimics as I moved my foot, their form and their worn-out tops, and I discover that their wrinkles and their white seams give them a physiognomy. Something of my own being had gone into these shoes—they moved me like a breath in the soul, a breathing, living part of me.

I sat there and fabled over these fancies a long time, perhaps an hour."

In "Mysteries," his second book, there are fairy tales of oriental opulence. The story itself affects one at first like an incomprehensible extravaganza, then like a revelation from lands of undiscovered continents. A vagabond from Nowhere comes to a tiny port somewhere on the coast of Norway, puzzles the good natives and dazzles them, makes fun of them, and falls in love. And into this is woven cool-headed criticism, iconoclastic satire of Ibsen and Tolstoi and the immaculate Gladstone enthroned on his puritanic pedestal, and delicious mockery of those who believe that Darwinism and Radicalism and Unitarianism will heal the wounds of the world. It is a phantasmagoria, and it would be a senseless hodge-podge if Hamsun did not make us feel that such is life in its nakedness, and that dim moods like these influence us more profoundly than in our moments of reflection we think.

"You come of an evening," he writes, "to a strange town—let us say this town, why not? And next day you walk down the streets to look about for the first time. On your walk you come to feel a decided, mysterious aversion for certain streets, certain houses; whereas at other streets, at other houses you feel a sense of pleasure, of joy, of well-being. Nervousness? But now I assume at the outset that you have nerves like ropes, and that you haven't the faintest conception of what nervousness is. Now. Once again you roam about the streets. You encounter hundreds of people but pay no attention to them. Suddenly—as you come to the quay and stop before a little one-story house without curtains, only a few white flowers in the window, a man approaches you who in some way attracts your attention. There is nothing remarkable about him, merely that he is poorly dressed and a bit stoop-shouldered. It is the first time in your life that you have

seen him, and yet you get the bizarre notion that the man's name is Johannes. Johannes, and nothing else. And why, pray, Johannes? You cannot explain it, but you see it in his eyes and notice it in the movements of his arms; you hear it in the sound of his footsteps. And you cannot explain it by the fact that you once before knew a man who resembles this one and whose name *was* Johannes. No, that cannot be the reason, for you have never known such a man. But you stand there in your wonder and in your mysterious mood, and you can explain nothing."

You can explain nothing! You cannot explain love, you can feel and wonder—and the poet can sing. Hamsun has sung of it, not in songs and lyrics, but in prose as luminously incandescent as passion itself. He has told in the love of Nagel for Martha of its sweet surrender, in Glahn's desire for Edvarda of its hot, hectic bloom, in the little novelette "Victoria" of its lyric intensity and its mute tragedy. Now and then, no doubt, his frank sensuousness has carried him over the line which good society has fixed between the permitted and the unpermitted. He is sometimes coarse, he is often daring, but few of his erotic passages, when read in their context are vulgar. "Victoria" is as chaste and sweet as "Evangeline." And the unveiled animalism of "Pan"? Well, since when did Mrs. Grundy rule in Arcady?

For here is the scene of Hamsun's lyric novels—Nordland—this land of forest and mountain, of white summer nights and winter darkness luminous with the many-colored northern lights. This is the land East of the Sun and West of the Moon, "jenseits vom Guten und Bösen." Edvarda is Iselin of the fairy tale who comes in a light, luminous robe and presses the warm, throbbing kiss on the lips of the hunter. Such things *are* in Nordland. Such simple, elemental passions sweep away all our conventions. We become as gods, knowing not Good or Evil. But let Hamsun describe it:

"Yonder, past the islands, lay the ocean in stolid rest. Many a time I gazed upon it from the mountains. On calm days the ships scarcely moved. I could see the same sails for days at a time. But when the winds blew up, the mountains in the distance almost disappeared, the storm came, a gale from the Northwest—a drama, and I the spectator. Earth and sky were mingled together as if lost in smoke. The sea tumbled in fantastic dances in the air and shaped itself into figures of men, and horses, and rent banners. I

stood sheltered under a cliff and thought strange thoughts—my soul was tense. 'God knows,' I whispered, 'what I witness today—and why the sea opens itself before my eyes. Perhaps at this moment I am staring into the heart of the brain of Earth. Behold how it travails and seethes!'—And not a cry, not a human voice, nothing but this thunder about my head. Far out to sea lay a reef, alone. When the great waves wheeled up and over it, it tore them like some mad wheel; no, like a seagod rising dripping wet into the air, blowing his hair and beard in a tempest about his head."

And there is another passage in "Pan," often quoted, which I should like to translate, for it is perhaps the most perfect illustration in the whole range of his novels of the spirit of Nordland:

"A health, all ye men and animals and birds, to the lonely night in forests, in forests! A health to the darkness and the whisper of God in the trees, to the tender, innocent music in my ears, to the green foliage and the yellow leaves! A health to this murmur of life I hear, a sniffing in the grass, a dog nosing along the trail! A health to the wildcat on his haunches, aiming, gathering himself for the spring on the sparrow in the darkness, in the darkness. A health to the merciful silence of earth, to the half-moon and the stars—yea, to them!

"I rise up and listen. No one has heard me. And I sit down again.

"I whisper a prayer of gratitude for the silent night, for the mountains and the music of the sea that sweeps through my heart—my thanksgiving for mere life, for the mere breath of my lungs, for the joy of living this night. Listen, in the West; no! in the East. It is God everlasting. The silence muttering in my ears is the blood of Pan seething, God penetrating Nature, permeating me. I catch a glimpse of a cobweb in the gleam of my campfire, a sound of oars in the harbor. The Northern Lights glide into the sky. And I give thanks that it is I who am sitting here.

"Silence. A pine cone falls to the ground. 'That was a pine cone,' I say. The moon has risen, the fire flickers in the half-burned logs, and is about to go out. In the deep of the night I go home."

The thing that first struck critics in these early novels was, naturally, this rapturous interpretation of nature. In "Pan" the life of the woods and sea became once more of the life of man.

And, next to that, the early reviewers surrendered to the magic of the style. Here was Norwegian of a new flexibility, of a sinuousness so perfect that it conveyed feelings with the delicate suggestiveness of music. It was a style never before seen in the North, the miraculous medium of manifold harmonies.

In his last novel, "Children of the Times" (*Börn af Tiden*) Knut Hamsun has departed widely from his earlier manner. This novel is English in its proportions, Gallic in its objectivity and restraint. But the background is still Nordland, the characters are still those men and women of quick, nervous temper whom we learned to know in "Pan." On the surface they are conventional gentlefolk now, but the fire within burns as fiercely as in other days, the passions come and go as unexpectedly, and life is no more a thing of rule and formula than it is in "Mysteries" or "Under the Harvest Star." In this last work Hamsun is as orderly and lucid as he is lawless and lyric in "Hunger," but—and the reservation is characteristic—the solution comes in the finding of old buried treasure. For in Hamsun it is the miraculous that happens.

He has caught a glimpse of the stream of being, flowing an uncharted current in the soul. He has caught its moods and its mysteries. He has made the miracle to live.

M. B. RUUD.

University of Minnesota.

SEMOLOGICAL NOTES ON OLD NORSE *HEIM-* IN COMPOUNDS

As an independent word, *heim-* like most morphemes in O. N. underwent a much more extensive semological development than did its cognates in the other Germanic languages, a fact which increases the difficulty of attaching the correct meaning to the word when used in compounds or in connection with some other part of speech. A study of the sematology of this word in O. N. may, it seemed to me, shed some light upon a few of those troublesome passages in the Elder Edda, the sense of which is obscure because of the uncertainty as to the meaning of *heim-* in compounds or in combination with some other element of the sentence.

I. Germanic *HAIM-*

The Gmc. morpheme *haim-* may be traced¹ back to the I. G. **hi* (cf. Sanskrit *çête*, Greek *κεῖ-μαι*, Latin *ci-vis*) meaning 'to lie,' from which in Gmc. the sense of 'to dwell' was developed. This is the basic sense of the word in Gmc., which in the various dialects became particularized or restricted in certain directions. By comparing the sematology of the word in the various Gmc. dialects we may also infer that with this sense of 'to dwell' there became further associated the idea of 'native' 'customary,' 'natural'; so that for the P. Gmc. the basic sememe may be safely assumed to be 'native, customary or natural abode,' containing two distinct elements, viz., (1) 'abode,' 'dwelling,' (2) 'native,' 'customary,' 'natural.'

Even in the oldest of the Gmc. dialects the secondary basic sense, (viz., (2) 'native,' 'customary,' etc.) may be inferred, since the Gothic not only has the substantive *haims* ('village,' 'hamlet,' Gr. *κώμη*) but also the derivative adjectives *af-haimeis* (-*haims*), 'far from home,' 'absent,' and *ana-haimeis* (-*haims*), 'at home,' 'present' (cf. Cor. II. 5, 6, 8, 9), in which the idea of 'home' or 'native abode' is emphasized.

In the later O. N.—WGmc. this secondary basic sense is much more strongly emphasized, so that we have here a large number of particularized senses such as 'home,' 'native family-abode,' 'house,' 'estate,' 'native country,' etc., all of which are very closely allied

¹ See Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, pp. 87-88, Göttingen, 1909.

to the two basic senses of (1) 'abode' and (2) 'native,' 'natural,' etc. In O.N., however, the semological development of the word was even more extended than in WGmc., for the O. N. substantive *heimr* (which must originally have meant 'native region,' 'native country') came to mean 'a region in general,' ergo 'region,' 'land,' 'world,' 'Earth'; and with this last sense there became further associated the idea of 'life in this world,' 'physical life.' *Heimr*, 'the Earth' was, in fact, so often contrasted with other abodes of the universe (cf. *goð-heimr*, *jötun-heimr*, *Nifl-heimr*, etc.) and especially with the abode of *Death* (i.e., *Hel*), that the word came to imply that state of existence prevalent on Earth, viz., 'physical life,' the sense of 'habitation' being merged with that of 'physical existence.' The secondary basic sense of Gmc. *haim* (viz., (2) 'natural') is thus still preserved, plus the new connotation ('life,' 'existence'), which the substantive acquired by virtue of contrast with the abode of *Death* (i.e., *Hel*). For instance, *koma i heiminn* (cf. *Fas.* II, 513), 'to come into the world,' meant 'to be born,' while *þessa heims* ('this world') was often used in the sagas in contrast to *annars heims* ('the other world'); *heims* in either case emphasizes 'the existence' or 'life' in these two regions of the universe rather than 'the habitation' or 'place of dwelling.' This transference of connotation is best illustrated perhaps by the phrase 'to lie between *Earth* and *Hell*,' i.e., 'between *life* and *death*,' which so often occurs in the sagas (cf. *liggja milli heims ok Heljar*, *Fas.* II, 437, *ok lá nálíga i milli heims ok heljar*, *Gretts.* 114).

The semological development of Gmc. *haim-* may be represented, with reference to the various dialects, somewhat as follows:

PG. *haim-* = 'native abode':

- (1) 'town,' 'village'—Goth., WGmc., O. N.
- (2) 'home,' 'native family-abode,' 'house,' 'estate,' 'native country,' etc.—Goth., (adj. *-haimeis*), WGmc., O. N.
- (3) 'region,' 'land,' 'world,' 'Earth,' 'life (in this world)'—O. N.

In O. N. these three sememes are represented under the following morphological aspects:

- (1) In names of places formed with the suffix *heimr*, as in *Sæ-heimr*, Mod. Norw. *Sæm*, *Há-heimr*, Mod. Norw. *Hæm*, just as in WGmc. (cf. Eng. *Northam*, Germ. *Hildesheim*, etc.). But the rarity of *heim-* in this sense proves that this (evidently earliest) meaning of the word had been almost entirely driven out in O. N.

by the later variations of meaning which the word underwent.

(2) In the adverbial *heim*-, the locative *heima*, in derivative adjectives and derivative verbs (cf. *heimskr*, *heimta*, etc.), in the many compounds in *heim*-, *heima*, *heiman*, and *heimis*-, etc. This sememe is by far of most frequent occurrence both in O. N. and in WGmc.

(3) In the substantive *heimr*, in compounds formed with *heims*- (gen. of *heimr*) and in compounds formed with *heim*- (confined to poetry).

Sememe 1 is postulated as the oldest sense of the word, because in Gothic the morpheme is almost entirely confined to this sense (cf. *haims*, *ana- af- haimeis*), which is not true of the other Gmc. languages, especially of O. N.

Sememe 3 is postulated as the latest derived sense of the morpheme, inasmuch as sememe 2 is common to both WGmc. and O. N., while sememe 3 is found only in O. N. and, therefore, has probably developed out of sememe 2.

The semological development of the morpheme *heim*- in O. N. may, therefore, be assumed to be as follows: 'town,' 'village' > 'home,' 'house,' 'estate,' 'native country' > 'region,' 'land,' 'world,' 'Earth,' 'physical or natural life.' Since sememe 1 occurs only in names of places compounded with *-heimr* (see above) we are confined to sememes 2 and 3 in the analysis of compound words.

II. The Adverbial Particle *HEIM*

The adverbial particle *heim* (acc. of *heimr*) in O. N. deserves particular discussion because it developed a secondary sense peculiar to its use as an adverb. As a verbal prefix, *heim* represented sememe 2, i.e., 'native abode or land,' 'home,' as for instance in *heim-koma*, *-ganga*, *-fara*, *heim-fqr*, *-sókn*, etc. Inasmuch as the verbal action may have reference to either the subject or the object of the verb, the adverb *heim* might refer to the 'abode' of either the subject or the object; as, for instance, *heim-bqð* (cf. *heim-bjðða*) might mean either 'an invitation to one's home' or 'an invitation to the home of someone else' (i.e., other than the subject of the verbal idea); hence, 'a home-invitation,' 'banquet,' 'feast.' So, likewise, *heim-ríða* might mean either 'to ride home' or 'to ride to the home of someone else,' in which latter sense Snorre uses the compound

with reference to Hermóðr, when the latter rode down to Hel in search of Balder, *Gylfag.* XLIX: *pá reið Hermóðr, heim til hallarinnar.*

The affix *heim* with verbs of motion thus acquired a force which to our modern speech-feeling seems either contradictory or superfluous, inasmuch as this adverbial prefix in our Modern Germanic languages (Eng. *home*, Germ. *heim*, Dano-Norw. *hjem*, Swed. *hem*) no longer has reference to the abode of some one *other than the subject of the verb*. In Old Norse, on the other hand, *heim* in the phrase quoted above (with reference to the abode of Hel) is no more out of place than where *heim* has reference to the abode of the subject of the verb, such as in *gengu þeir heim til huss*, 'they went home to (their own) houses,' (*Egilss.* VII).

It is important to hold this fact in mind, especially with reference to the verb *heim-søkja*, the sense of which in the Elder Edda² (cf. *H. H.* II, 14) is not entirely certain. The verb *heim-søkja* often represented a no more extended meaning than the simplex *søkja*³, viz., 'to visit.' The reason for this is that *heim*- did not alter the sense of the verb, but merely denoted 'the abode' where the person in question was sought, just as in the phrase (*heim-ríða*) quoted above. The verbal idea was, however, not restricted to persons but might be directed towards inanimate objects as well, so that we have the verb *heim-søkja* used with inanimate objects in the sense of 'seek'; *heim* in this case denotes the *place* 'where the object in question is or properly belongs,' just as with reference to persons *heim* denotes merely 'where that person is,' i.e., 'his abode,' 'home.' Thus, *heim-* in *heim-søkja*, when used with reference to inanimate objects, often seems to our modern speech-feeling superfluous and perhaps even in O.N. may have been felt as a somewhat colorless particle (since the idea of 'abode' inherent in the substantive could not be applied to inanimate objects), analogous to the adverb *up* in Modern English, which often has entirely lost its original sense of direction, as in *look up* (= *search for, investigate*), *dress up*, *hurry up*. An excellent example of this force of *heim-* with reference to inanimate objects occurs in Snorre, where he discusses the wonderful properties of Thor's hammer, *Skáldskm.*, XXXV: *pá mundi hann aldri missa, ok aldri fljuga*

² References to the Elder Edda are based on Bugge's edition, *Norroen Fornkvæði*, Christiania, 1867.

³ Cf. *Atlav.* 3, at *søkja heim Atla*, *Volss.* II, at *søkja heim Óðin*, with at *søkja þing*, *Hvm.* 104, *Enn aldna iotun ec sotta*.

svá langt, at eigi mundi hann SÖKJA HEIM HOND. The phrase *sökja heim hond* here means literally 'to seek (i.e., come to) his hand,' but, inasmuch as the hammer had already been in Thor's hand before he threw it, the verb *heim-sökja* must signify 'seek again,' i.e., 'fly back again,' which sense is confirmed by the manuscript variant (H.) *sækja APTR í hönd hánum*.

Keeping this semological fact in mind, viz., that the adverbial particle *heim* after verbs of motion often does not alter the sense of the simple verb but merely strengthens the verbal idea (much as the adverb *up* in Modern English), the sense of *heim-sökja* in the Elder Edda (H. H. II, 14) presents a comparatively easy solution.

H. H. II, 14.

Sotti Sigrun
sicling glapan
heim nam hon Helga
hond at sokia
kysti oc qvaddi
konung und hialmi.

The sense of *heim* in this phrase *heim hond sökja* (*sokia*) is the same as in the prose passage quoted from Snorre, except that in the latter the context requires the rendering 'back again.' In both passages *heim* denotes merely 'where the hand is' (cf. *heim-sökja Óðin*, *heim* = 'where Odin is,' i.e., 'his abode,' 'home'), adding no new sense to the simplex *sökja* but simply strengthening the verbal idea. The whole phrase means then: 'she sought Helgi's hand,' 'sought to seize,' (hence perhaps) 'seized Helgi's hand.'⁴

Detter-Heinzel⁵ entirely discard this literal sense of *heim-sökja* (viz., 'seize') in favor of a metaphorical interpretation based on the analogy of such phrases as *koma heim at hendi* (i.e., 'she came into Helgi's hands' 'gave herself over to Helgi') or possibly *sökja til handa e-m* (i.e., 'she sought Helgi's protection'). The literal

⁴ So Gering—*Glossar zu den Liedern der Älteren Edda*, pp. 168-169, Paderborn, 1896, "an sich ziehen, ergreifen." The verbal idea should rather be expressed in the reverse sequence, viz., *ergreifen, an sich ziehen*, since the primary sense of *sökja* is that of 'seeking' and since the verbal action is first directed towards Helgi (*hond*) and not towards Sigrun herself.

⁵ Detter und Heinzel, *Samundar Edda mit einem Anhang*, p. 371, Leipzig, 1903. "Die Phrase heisst sonst '(zu jemandem) zurückkommen,' Sn. E. I 344—*Sighvat Heimskr*, S. 522—. Hier muss es so viel sein als *koma heim at hendi, Egilss. C. LXXVIII—, oder sækja til handa e-m, Arnor jarl. Heimskr.* p. 517.

sense is discarded evidently on the ground that "the phrase *heim sþkja hǫnd* elsewhere means *to come back*" (cf. the passage quoted from Snorre), but this sense 'to come back' is elsewhere (as shown above) due entirely to the context in which the phrase occurs. There is, therefore, no reason for resorting to a metaphorical sense, so long as the literal rendering is justified. Furthermore, the phrase does not occur elsewhere in either of the senses which Detter-Heinzel attribute to it.

This use of the adverbial particle *heim* after a transitive verb (*sþkja*) is analogous to its use after verbs of motion (as in *heim-ríða*), but the analogy is obscured by the fact that *heim* in connection with inanimate objects (cf. *heim sþkja hǫnd*) does not have the sense of 'abode,' 'home,' which it does with reference to persons (cf. *heim-sþkja Óðin*). In the latter case *heim* also lost its earlier definite sense of 'home' just so soon as the compound verb acquired a derived meaning (cf. *heim-sþkja* 'visit with hostile intent,' 'attack') but here the process is more easily followed than in the former case (viz., *heim sþkja HOND*), inasmuch as the original sense of the adverbial *heim*- ('home') is clear enough with reference to persons but not with reference to things.

III. *HEIM- in Compounds in the Elder Edda.*

To venture a fixed and definite meaning for certain compounds in poetry is extremely hazardous and it is far from the writer's purpose to be dogmatic in this regard. The following discussion of *heim-* in compounds is undertaken by way of suggestion as to the possibilities present rather than to refute the traditional interpretation.

A.

Heim-for

H. H. II, 40.

"Hvart ero þat svic ein,
er ec sia þicciomz,
eþa ragnarǫc?
—ríða menn dauþir,
er iða yðra
oddum keyrit,—
eþa er hildingom
heimfor gefin?"

"Is this which I (seem to) see a mere delusion of my senses or has the end of the world come? Dead men are riding—ye do give your steeds the spur! Or have the warriors been granted 'a home-coming'?"

These are the words of Sigrun's maid, who has gone out to the mound where Helgi is buried, and sees Helgi and his men riding back into the open grave. As Bugge⁶ points out, there are evidently two distinct motifs blended here, two distinct conceptions of death, one of which according to the old Viking faith transferred the spirit of the hero to Odin in Valhalla, and the other, a much later superstition, recurring so often in the medieval folk-ballad (*Fæstemanden i Graven*),⁷ which conceived of the dead lover as sleeping in his grave, but who during the hours of night might arise to visit his betrothed. This satisfactorily explains the contradiction contained in the previous stanza (39), in which the dead Helgi is represented not in the burial mound but with Odin in Valhalla.

The secondary ballad motif introduced in this lay is extremely rare in the Elder Edda (cf. *Ghv.* 19) but later became a favorite theme in folk song, especially in Danish folk song. Bugge clearly shows (see above) that the characteristic features of the Danish folk song having this theme (*Fæstemanden i Graven*) are very strongly reflected in this Second Lay of Helgi Hundingsbani. This fact further accords with the theory that Helgi is not an Icelandic but a Danish hero; which is further borne out by the various names of places (such as *Heðinsey*=*Hiddensee*, *Svarinshaugr*=*Schwerin*, *á Mõins-heimum*=*Møen*, etc.) representing localities in or adjacent to Danish territory.

This later ballad motif obviously explains why Helgi and his men, tho dead, are riding into the open mound, for, according

⁶ Sophus Bugge, *Helge-Digtene i Den Ældre Edda, deres Hjem og Forbindelser*, p. 208 ff., Kjøbenhavn, 1896. See also Uhland's *Schriften* VIII, 200 ff; Sijmons, *Beitr.* IV, 201; Schullerus, *Beitr.* XII, 236, 238 ff., in which all three agree with Bugge that the writer of this lay tried to unite two originally distinct motifs.

⁷ Cf. Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 90, *Ridder Aage*. Geijer och Afzelius, *Svenska Folkvisor* I, 7, *Riddaren Tynne. Bürger's Lenore. Des Knaben Wunderhorn* II, 10. Percy's *Reliques* III, 126, *Sweet William's Ghost*. Child's *Popular Ballads* III, p. 226-229.

to the later folk superstition, the grief⁸ of his betrothed had called him out of the grave to visit her. Therefore, there is an inviting possibility that the compound *heim-för* 'home-coming', in this passage (*épa er hildingom heimför gefin?*) may imply 'a journey (from the grave) to Earth, i.e., to earthly life'; *heim-* representing sememe (3) 'Earth,' 'physical or natural life.' The dead Helgi has been granted the privilege of a return to earthly life, exactly as in the case of the lover (*Fæstemanden*) in the Danish folk ballad. The word *heim-för* in this passage has been universally interpreted in its usual sense as found in prose, viz., 'a home-journey'; 'Heimkehr,' (cf. Vigfússon, Fritzner, Gering) and of course it does signify Helgi's 'return home' (i.e., 'to Sigrun'), but in view of the context, which contains unmistakable traces of the ballad motif, representing the dead lover as returning (from the grave) to life in order to visit his betrothed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *heim-* here may also imply 'Earth,' 'earthly life,' 'life.' The semological history of the substantive *heimr* shows that when *life* and *death* are contrasted (as is the case here), *heimr* ('the world') was often used to denote *life* (see above under I—*liggja milli heims ok Heljar*). In the *Guðrunarkvæði* (19), for example, Guðrun has received a promise from her lover, Sigurd, to converse with him after his death; so, too, Odin (*Vegtamskv.* 6) converses with the *volva*, who has risen from the dead. In both cases the living converse *or heimi* (i.e., 'from the world') with the dead. *Heimr* ('the world') became thus associated with 'natural life' 'life on Earth' (cf. above, under I). *Heim-för* (= 'home-coming') with reference to Helgi in the passage under discussion may imply, therefore, 'a return to Earth, to earthly life' which was, according to the ballad motif, granted the dead lover during the hours of night. Even tho in prose this sense of *heim-för* does not occur, the poetic thought peculiar to this passage justifies the assumption that the element *heim-* may have had a connotation which was characteristic of the independent substantive.

⁸ Cf.

45

gretr þu, gullvarp!
grimmom tarom,
hvert fellr blöugt
a briost gram.

Afzelius I, 1, 6.

Jungfrun gräter tårar,
hon gräter blod.

B.

*Heim - hama, -haga, -huga**Hávamál 155.*

þat kann ec ip tiunda

ef ec se tunriþor

leica lopti a:

ec sva vinc

at þer villar fara

sinna *heim hama*sinna *heim huga*.

"This tenth (song) I know, if I see witches flying in the air; I make them go astray out of their *proper* (i.e., natural, normal) forms, out of their *right* (i.e., natural, normal) minds."

The reading *heim haga* (for *heim huga*) in the last verse offers no semological difficulty and, therefore, does not concern us. The word occurs in prose and there can be little doubt as to its meaning,⁹ viz., 'home-field,' 'native field or pasture'; *heim-* representing sememe (2) 'home,' 'native land,' etc.

The reading *heim huga* presents also very little difficulty as to the sematology of *heim*. *Huga* is used here parallel to *hama*, referring (as Fritzner points out, cf. *hugr*) to the mental state of a *hamramr maðr*, while *hama* refers solely to his physical form. Fritzner very ingeniously seeks to prove this by a parallel use of these two words in the *Allamál* 19, 20 (*at veri hamr Atla, heill er hugr Atla*. *Heim*, used in connection with either of these words, signifies 'natural,' 'normal'; i.e., 'the form' (*heim-hamr*) which the *hamramr maðr* possesses before he enters into the unnatural condition referred to, and the state of mind (*heim-hugr*) existing before this change takes place: hence, *heim-hamr*¹⁰ = 'natural, proper form,' *heim-hugr*¹¹ = 'natural, normal state of mind.' *Heim* represents here one of the basic senses of the morpheme in Gmc. (see above, I), viz., 'natural,' 'native'; the primary sense of 'abode,' 'home' may be secondary in *heim-hamr*

⁹ Cf. Vigfússon, *An Icelandic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1874—"a home-field"; Gering, *Heimstätte*; Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle Norske Sprog*, Christiania, 1886—"Hjemmehavn, Græsgang, eller Havnegang hjemme ved selve Gaarden."

¹⁰ *Heim-hamr*, Fritzner, "Skikkelse som, *hamramr maðr* har, naar han fører sit naturlige liv (*er i eðli sínu*), ikke farer om som *hamaðr*, *hamhleyþa*, *túnkiða*, etc."; Gering, "die eigentliche oder natürliche haut, im gegensatze zu der durch zauberkunst angenommenen; "Vigfússon, 'home-skin,' one's own skin.

but in *heim-hugr* it is entirely lost. This basic sense of 'natural,' 'familiar,' 'customary' is present everywhere in the morpheme *heim*, and we need only to turn to the Modern English 'to be at home in a thing' (Dano-Norw. 'være hjemme i en sag,' Swed. 'vara hemma i en sak,' cf. Germ. 'in einer Sache zu Hause [South Germ. *daheim*] sein') to find the sense of 'familiar,' 'customary,' etc.; the idea of 'abode' or 'dwelling' being entirely driven out. Yet Detter-Heinzel,¹² tho they retain the reading *heim huga*, do not accept Fritzner's definition, nor do they admit that *heim-* in either of these two compounds has the meaning ('natural,' 'normal') attributed to it. The semological history of the morpheme *heim-* certainly supports Fritzner's contention, and parallel senses of the morpheme are not lacking in the Modern Germanic dialects (cf. Vigfússon, 'a home-skin,' i.e., *one's own skin*. Cf. also *homely*, i.e., *familiar*, *common*, etc.).

C.

Heim-stöð

Völuspá 56 (7, 8).

Munu halir allir

Heimstöð ryðja.

"Then all men shall leave their *homesteads* (i.e., the Earth)." These two verses, which in the Codex Regius (53) were entered into the account of Thor's struggle with the Miðgarðsorm, were originally probably a part of an entirely separate stanza of eight verses, describing the fate of human beings on the Last Day (*Ragnarök*), as is suggested by the arrangement of the stanzas (48, 49) in the *Hauksbók*.¹³

The compound *heimstöð*¹⁴ does not occur elsewhere either in poetry or prose, but judging from the context in which the word

¹¹ *Heim-hugr*, Fritzner, *heimhugr* = *heimhamr* (jvf. *hugr* 3). *Hugr* 3, "Menneskets sjæl saadan som man tænkte sig den virkende udenfor Legemet, tildels efter at have iført sig en anden Skikkelse (jvf. *hamr*, *hammingja*, *fylgja*).".

According to Fritzner, *heimhugr* signifies, therefore, 'the normal condition' of a *hamramr maðr* before he has assumed a strange form (generally that of a beast, cf. *Atlakv.* 19, 20, *Ynlingas.*, VII, *Egilss.*, III, etc.).

¹² Detter-Heinzel, p. 148—"aber ein *heimhamr* in der angenommenen Bedeutung ist doch unglaublich."—"Es scheint nicht, dass der Gebrauch von *heim*—eine solche Bedeutung hat."

¹³ Cf. Bugge, *Norroen Fornkvæði*, footnote to stanza 49 (*Hauksbók*), p. 25: "Ved at betragte medfølgende lithographeede Kopi og ved at eftersé, hvor mange Verslinjer der pleier at staa paa en Linje i *H*, vil man sé, at dette Vers efter al Rimelighed maa have bestaaet av 8 Linjer."

is found, there can be little doubt as to its meaning. Commentators are agreed¹⁵ that the word means either (1) 'homestead,' 'home,' or (2) 'the Earth.'

If we may assume that this original stanza (see above) contained an account of man's fate at *Ragnarøk*, then *heimstǫð* may have implied not only 'a homestead,' as Vigfússon suggests, but also 'a place (*stǫð*) on Earth (*heimr*) where an abode was possible.' Conflagration and war,¹⁶ which afflicted the whole world at *Ragnarøk*, made *physical life* as well as an *abiding-place* on Earth impossible for man. The word *heim-* in this compound *heim-stǫð* (= 'home on Earth,' 'life on Earth') evidently represents sememe (3) 'Earth,' 'world,' etc. Vigfússon's definition of the word (viz., *a homestead*) does not satisfy its full meaning, inasmuch as the word *homestead* in English (O. E. *hām-stede*) does not connote the idea of 'Earth' as does *heim-* (*heimr*) in O. N. but is confined to the sense of 'abode.' The O. E. (cf. I, WGmc.) did not share the sense of the word as represented in sememe (3)—'land,' 'region,' 'world,' 'Earth,' etc.—, which was peculiar to the O. N. alone.

Furthermore, the compound *heimstaða* frequently occurred in Old Norse prose (cf. Fritzner, *heimstaða*), signifying 'the duration or survival of the world,' and Christ was known (*Krosskvæði* 14) as *heimstǫðu-kongr* or *heimstǫðu-dróttinn*, 'the King or Lord of the World.' *Heim-stǫð* is evidently a poetic synonym for the prose *heimstaða*, as Fritzner suggests; for both *stǫð*, f. (*ð*) and *staða* f. (*ðn*) may denote the same thing, viz., 'place' (root *stað-*; cf. *sta(n)da*, *stǫð*, *staðinn*, and *stǫð*, *stǫðvar*, f. (*wð*), etc.). *Heim-stǫð - staða* signifies, therefore, 'place in the world,' 'place to live=abode in the world,' 'life in the world.' On the other hand, the simplex *heimr* is hardly a synonym for the compound *heim-*

¹⁵ *Heimstǫð*, found in both the *Codex Regius* and the *Snorre Edda*, but not in the *Hauksbók*, which has preserved only a few words of this stanza intact. *Hauksbók* (Vsp. 49)

Munu halir al x x x
x x x x ydia.

¹⁶ *Heimstǫð*, Vigfússon, *a homestead*; Gering, *heimstatt* (*erde*); Fritzner, *heimstǫð-heimstaða* 2- *heimr*; *heimstǫðu-kongr*, -*dróttinn* (om Kristus), *Krosskvæði* 14; *Harmsöl* 17 (efter *Lex. poet.*).

¹⁶ Cf. Detter-Heinzel, p. 73: "Jetzt erst werden *alle* Menschen ihre Heimstätte, die Erde, räumen; entweder in Folge des immer mehr um sich greifenden Feuers, oder weil der Kampf zwischen den Göttern und Dämonen die schon vom Erdbeben bebende Erde so erschüttert, dass er das Fortleben der Menschen unmöglich macht."

stǫð, as Fritzner suggests (*heimstǫð* = *heimstaða* 2 = *heimr*), inasmuch as the compound word necessarily contains the idea of 'abode' (cf. *stǫð* f. (*wo*)—*stǫðvar* = 'dwelling-places') which is not implied in the simplex *heimr*.

Heims- (genitive of *heimr*) in O. N. compounds regularly denoted 'mundus,' 'the Earth' (cf. *heims-bygð*, *-endi*, *-kringla*, etc.) and *heim-* likewise may have assumed the same meaning. There can be no doubt but that this sense was present in the compound *heim-stǫð* of the *Vsp.* 56. It is possible, however, that the first element of such a compound may originally have been *heims-* and not *heim-*, the final *s* being assimilated with the initial *s* of the second element (cf. *heims-stǫð* < *heimstǫð*, *heims-staða* < *heimstaða*). If the first element of these compounds is *heim* and not *heims*, to which all commentators are agreed (cf. Vigfússon, Fritzner, Gring), then it is certain that *heim-* in poetic compounds might represent sememe (3)—'world,' 'Earth,' 'earthly life' and the contention that this sense was present in the compound *heim-for* (*H. H.* II, 40, 41; see above, A) receives additional support.

An interesting survival of the Old Norse substantive *heimr* in the sense of 'region,' 'world' (sememe 3) still exists in the Modern Norwegian dialects and in the Landsmaal. In the dialects of Western Norway, for instance, the substantive *heim* means not only 'home' (sememe 2) but also 'region,' 'world,' 'land' (sememe 3).¹⁷ Except in the dialects and in poetry (cf. *det skumle hjem* = Hell, *det jordiske hjem* = Earth) the word in Modern Scandinavian has lost this latter sense (sememe 3) which was characteristic of the O. N. over against the other Gmc. dialects, and has become confined to that sense of the word (sememe 2) which was common to both O. N. and WGmc. (cf. Eng. *home*, Germ. *heim*).

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

Kansas University.

¹⁷ Cf. *Norske Folkeviser*, udgivet ved Thorvald Lammers, Kristiania, 1910, I, No. I, *Draumkvædet*,

IV, 21.

Eg var meg i aurom heimi
i mange nættar og trå.

V, 37, 39.

han tar 'kje ræddast i aurom heimi
fyr horske hundegau.

i aurom heimi = O. N. *annars heims*, 'in the next world.' IV, 23 i *dessi heime* ('in this region,' viz., Hell) = O. N. i *þessum heimi* ('in this world'). V, 36, 37, 38, 39 i *þísiheimen* = O. N. i *heimi*, 'on Earth.'

EN HEIDENSTAM-STUDIE¹MED ANLEDNING AV *Nya dikter*

Den diktsamling, som Heidenstam utgav till förliden jul gör så intryck av att bilda slutpunkten i den 56-årige skaldens utveckling, att den inbjuder till en tillbakablick på denna. Men då en något så när fullständig dylik översikt omöjligen kan rymmas inom den trånga ram av minuter, som stå till förfogande vid ett tillfälle som detta, har jag begränsat mig till att följa hans utveckling utefter en enda linje, nämligen hans förhållande till, och det är detsamma som hans *opposition* mot, den naturalistiska verklighetsdikten. Få nutida skaldar torde vara svårare att komma in på livet än Heidenstam. Icke därför att hans författarskap är så brokigt eller hans personlighet så sammansatt—tvärtom, bäggedera äro så grandiosa just genom linjernas klarhet och enkelhet. Icke heller, såsom somliga mena, därför att han själv med ett slags snolskiskt "Noli me tangere" förnämt drager sig undan varje närmande—detta är enligt mitt förmenande klumpigt missförstånd, särskilt är hans sista diktsamling oförbehållsam. Men högt ovan människors boningar har Heidenstam rest sin diktnings slott uppe på fjällkrönet med dess fria, vida utsikt ut i rymdens oändlighet. Därför är han också i viss mån främmande för livets realiteter, hur mycket han än understundom deltagit i dagsfejden, och detta förklarar, varför han står oförstående inför vad han och hans eftersägare med ett, för övrigt tämligen grovt tillyxat, slagord benämmt "80-talet" i svensk diktning. Det är denna hans position, jag här skall söka klarlägga genom att på denna punkt jämföra hans senaste i december utkomna diktsamling med hans föregående skriftställarskap.

För det s. k. åttiotalet var den stora frågan: huru förhåller sig verkligheten till idealen, äro de senare något annat än illusioner? Vi minnas svaret. Enklast formulerades det av Ibsen, då han i *Vildanden* låter Relling föreslå, att det utländska ordet *ideal* utbytes mot det goda, inhemska ordet *lögn*. Strindberg hade redan ett tiotal år förut kommit till samma resultat i *Mäster Olov* och *Röda rummet* och inlett den nya riktningen i Sverige. Därmed var den ästhetiska utgångspunkten given: dikten skulle

¹A paper read before the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study at its meeting at the University of Wisconsin, May 5-6, 1916.

icke längre syssla med att besjunga de överkliga, bedrägliga drömmarna utan i stället troget återgiva verkligheten. Mänskligheten skulle läras att se livet i ögonen, sådant det verkliga var. Så skulle bristerna blottas och med metodiskt, segt reformarbete rådås bot på. Men ju längre man höll på, desto hopplösare och tröstlösare tedde sig saken—åtminstone för konstnärslynnen. Tillvaron blev icke fylligare utan tommare och meningslösare, sanningen verkade icke längre befriande utan beklämmande.

Låt oss här genast medgiva, att den ästhetiska teorien naturligtvis var för trång; likaså att tidens utilism ej alltid var så tilltalande och uppfriskande, därtill var den alltför torr och förnumstig; samt att den litterära metoden i sin tungfotade objektivitet ej alltid verkade medryckande.

Nog av—så ungefär, i allra största korthet, stodo sakerna, när Heidenstam på våren 1888 debuterade med sin första diktsamling *Vallfart och vandringsår*. Gentemot det till dogm fastslagna påståendet, att därmed inleddes en ny epok i svenska litteraturen, förhåller jag mig mer än skeptisk. Men säkert är, att Heidenstam medvetet och avsiktligt bröt med den naturalistiska riktningen, hävdade fantasiens och inbillningens rätt gentemot den exakta verklighetskildringen, betonade subjektivitetens betydelse och förkunnade en på njutningen av nuet och på en naiv skönhetskult grundad livsglädje, som stod i skarpaste motsats till den i allmänhet ännu som ett mod härskande trista stämningen i litteraturen. De självsvåldiga stroferna klungo som en muntert smattrande signal från alpjägarens horn uppe på fjällbranten en vårmorgon. Det fanns i de tonerna ingen Hamletsklagen över att tiden var ur led och att skalden var född till att vrida den rätt igen. De sociala missförhållandena brydde honom föga, och han tycktes ej benägen att röra ett finger för att ställa dem tillrätta. De föllo alldeles utanför hans intressesfär, hans mål var ett annat. I sin på hösten följande år utgivna programskrift *Renässans* ger han klart besked om vad han tänkte angående naturalismens ästhetik. "Vår tid har på det rent sociala området blottat ett all för stort svalg mellan ideal och verklighet, för att icke de känsligaste och mest begåvade författarna i förstone skulle gripas av svärmod och förtvivlan" (sid. 21). "Medvetandet om tillvarons skuggsidor kan endast ytterligare skärpa vår önskan att nästan med pietet taga vara på alla stunder av lycka, att på allt sätt omhulda och förljuva dem, att låta vår diktning och konst rädda dem undan glömskan"

(sid. 22). Den litterära produktionen hade nedsjunkit till "hantverksmässigt, själlöst efterbildande, till ett skriftställer, som förtjänar öknamnet: skomakarrealism" (sid. 26). "Naturalismens framställningssätt torde över huvud taget alldeles icke passa för svenskt lynne. . . . Vi kunna nog också skildra verklighet, men hos oss framskymtar . . . benägenhet att förstora och måla i fjärrglans. Just det dåliga, menlösa och tråkiga framställningssätt, som jag nyss sökt beteckna med namnet skomakarrealismen, passar i synnerhet illa samman med vårt lynne, som är föga lagt för småborgerlig gemytlighet" (sid. 32-34).

Under sin närmast på första framträdandet följande produktion: *Från Col di Tenda till Blocksberg* (1888), *Endymion* (1889) och i sitt stora prosaepos *Hans Alienus* (1892) fortsätter han sitt sökande efter livsglädje och skönhetsnjutning, om ock betoningen efter hand lägges starkare på det sistnämnda. Men i hans 1895 utkomna *Dikter* ljuda andra toner. Såsom mest representativ för skaldens utveckling längs efter den enda linje, jag i denna studie sökt följa, kan framhållas dikten "Den nioåriga freden." Det torde vara nödvändigt att anföra dikten i dess helhet.

Den nioåriga freden.

Gamle Damon trumpen bodde
i sin koja bakom kullen.
Tummen vätte han och snodde
vid sin spinnrock flitigt ullen.
Över tröskeln sovo barnen.
Hustru satt i sömn mot kvarnen,
med sin nakna arm på stenen.
Fikon och granater gävo
fyllda fat, och ull bar tenen,
och med öppna munnar sovo
tyst dryaderna på grenen.
Deras fingrar, hår och fötter
sköto kvistar över barken,
och de ledsnat att till marken
skaka torra barr och nötter.
Fåglarna i sina reden
lyfte knappt den röda kammen.
Skogens bin bland jätteträden
spunno honungen i stammen,
och på bergen lekte lammen
i den sommarstilla freden.

Trött med båda armar lyfta
hustrun gäspade i leda:

—Damon, hör!—I bergets klyfta
 dina tjurar böla vreda!—
 Men den gamle log åt myggen
 och tog mera ull ur sållet.
 Grått föll håret över ryggen,
 med ett band från pannan hållet.
 —Alla ulvar ligga fälda.
 Ingen ovän har att gälda
 ont med ont och kniven söla.
 Blott av leda djuren böla.
 Råder ej den långa freden?
 När kring elden under träden
 friskt bekransade de unga
 lyrans sköna strängar fatta,
 ha de intet att besjunga,
 ty de mötas blott att skratta.
 Nöjsamt härmar deras tunga
 åsnans skrik och folk som träta,
 grisens grymtning framför tråget.
 Blott hur allt ser ut, de veta:
 så ser brunnen ut med tåget,
 så se gubbar ut, när fromma
 de sin ull på landet spinna;
 kvinnan, hon är lik en blomma,
 blomman, hon är lik en kvinna.
 Nej, förbannad vare freden,
 som blott fyller krämarns taska
 och strör kring hans krus och kläden
 men på hjärtat häller aska!
 Glädjen har jag glömt och vreden.
 Torrt är ögat, torrt är sinnet.
 Jag har sovit bort ur minnet
 hur det känns att vara fader
 och de tusen kärleksnamnen,
 som jag gav dig förr om kvällen,
 innan bakom spiselhällen
 krigaryxan hade rostat.
 Vilket värde har den fammen,
 som mig ingen fara kostat?
 Släpad från en övervunnen
 smeker kvinnan först som kvinna.
 Andra män jag längtar finna
 lystet gömda bakom brunnen.
 Jag vill se min koja brinna!—

Talte så och sänkte rösten
 men vart lika vit om kinden
 som Hymettos topp om hösten

vid den första nordanvinden,
och den färdigspunna rullen
föll på sållets kant bland ullen.

Lyssna! Det var inga tjurar.
Det var pipor, horn och lurar,
ropande till vapen trakten.
Svärd på sköldar slogo takten.
Bullersamma vagnar svängde
dovt sitt tunga hjul kring löten,
fyllda högt med skot och spröten,
vilkas djuransikten hängde
kluven gadd ur koppargapen.
Skogar reste sig av vapen,
vart han såg kring fält och dungar,
växte, brusade och skredo,
och på vita fålar redo
framför tåget Hellas' kungar.

Ängsligt, häpet, med den vida
manteln fallen över bältet
och ett lejons blick mot fältet,
drog han hustrun till sin sida.
Hennes panna strök han sakta,
framåtböjd som att betrakta
hennes drag, som klädet gömde,
och han viskade:—Min duva!
Och han återfann de ljuva
kärleksnamnen, som han glömde.
Han fick hjärtats syn tillbaka.
Han som make såg sin maka
och de små, som klättrat rädda
på hans knä, han såg som fader.
Fältet bakom spjutens rader,
hjordarna på murgrönsklädda
klippans stup i morgonljuset,
havets bukt och herdehuset
under smultronträd och ranka
av hans ungdomssol förgylldes.
Raskt den hand, som knappast orkat
spinna ull, begynte blanka
svärd och hjälm, och ögat fylldes
av de tårar, som förtorkat.
Ting, som varit honom nära,
faderns grav, som skulle jämnas,
golvets fäll och hustruns skära
honom aldrig tyckts så nära,

som den stund de skulle lämnas.
 Men han trädde utan ånger,
 rak och rustad ur sin koja.
 Sorlet växte. Det blev sånger:
 —Upp hellener! Upp mot Troja!

Dikten inledes (se Bööks analys av den i *Svenska studier*) med en idyll av den mest massiva lyckan: ullspinnaren Damon får i sorglös ro leva fram sina dagar utan några störande konflikter. Men i längden blir detta outhärdligt; idyllen är enformig, t. o. m. djuren böla blott av leda; den östörda lyckan gör människorna små, utan något att försaka för, utan något att kämpa för. "Nej, förbannad vare freden," utbrister till sist Damon. Livet blir utan värde, när det ej kostar strid. Damon står ej ut med denna lyckosaliga dådlöshet, och förtvivlad önskar han sig vad som helst: "Jag vill se min koja brinna!"—Då bryter med ens stridsropet genom fridens kvävande stillhet: "Upp hellener! Upp mot Troja!" och allt förvandlas: den dåsande Damon springer spänstigt upp för att gripa sina vapen, t. o. m. över naturen faller en strömmande flod av solsken, ny ljuder sången, och "rak och rustad" träder Damon ur sin koja för att delta i tåget mot nationalfienden.

Utgångspunkten för oppositionen mot naturalismen är här vorden en annan. Hädonismen och skönhetslängtan äga ej längre någon bärande makt och lyckan ligger ej i dem—den är att söka i strid, i handling, i fri försakelse av den egoistiska livsnjutningen. Men oppositionen är lika avgjord—utilismens princip: "Så mycken lycka som möjligt åt så många individer som möjligt" (Stuart Mill var ju 80-talets filosofiska auktoritet) förkräver poesien, och naturalismen vill blott exakt verklighetsskildring. Damon klagar, att de unga intet ha att besjunga:

Blott hur allt ser ut, de veta:
 så ser brunnen ut med tåget,
 så se gubbar ut, när fromma
 de sin ull på landet spinna.

Och naturhärmmningen och den drastiska folklivsskildringen får en vinande snärt av parodiens piska:

Nöjsamt härmar deras tunga
 åsnans skrik och folk, som träta,
 grisens grymtning framför tråget.

I motsats till denna förfäddade dikt ställer nu Heidenstam—icke längre som i *Vallfart och vandringsår* livsnjutningens glada, lättsinniga visa, men det nationella epos. För det nationella står hans kamp ("Upp hellener! Upp mot Troja!") och han ger oss under de följande åren de stora historiska skildringarna *Karolinerna* (1897-1898) om "*Folkungaträdet*" (1905-1907), mäktiga i sin stolta resning, samt dikten "Ett folk" (1902), intagen i hans senaste diktsamling. Det fosterländska motivet går också igen i en mängd tal, som Heidenstam hållit under dessa år. Men vad man saknar i all denna patriotiska diktning och våltalighet är positiva riktlinjer, utefter vilka politiska och sociala frågor må lösas. De spörsmål, som äro livsfrågor för hans folk, åt vilket han nu viger sin diktning, äro, särskilt de sociala, honom alltjämt främmande. Han upptar dem *en gång* som motiv i *Dikter*, i det stycke, som bär namnet "Sånger i kyrktornet," men den lösning han där giver dem:

"Det kvinnligt veka i mänskossinn
skall frälsa världen och ringa in
förbrödrens framtidsrike,"

—den lösningen förefaller mig nästan rörande i sin naiva meningslöshet.

Men de spörsmålen låta inte avvisa sig med en otålig gest eller en tom fras. Pockande på lösning leva de alltjämt—om ej så mycket i dikten längre så i levande livet. Dit har också Heidenstam i sin *Proletärfilosofiens upplösning och fall* förflyttat valplatsen. Där stod sommaren 1911 det sista slaget mot den tvehövdade fienden: "proletärmakten" och det nu i Strindbergs gestalt och diktning personifierade "80-talet"—Strindberg som mer än någon annan under sina sista år brutit staven över den materialistiska och naturalistiska livsåskådningen hos 80-talet! Mot "barbarismen" som han kallar den, uppträder nu Heidenstam som kulturens förkämpe, en riddare för vad han kallar "det skygga och förnäma inom oss," utan att närmare precisera, vad detta är. Jag skall icke uppehålla mig vid denna polemik. Låt mig blott med anledning av Heidenstams ord (*Proletärfilosofien* etc. sid. 6): "jag vet med mig själv, hur svårt det varit att hålla den frågan (den sociala) borta—inte från mina tankar, det har varit omöjligt—men från mitt arbete," instämma i Hans Larssons ord i uppsatsen "Huvudsak och bisak i litterära brytningar": "Man får för ingen del begära, att alla diktare skola ta upp politiska och

sociala motiv....Men att dylika motiv på något sätt skulle vara olämpliga för diktningen, det är en tanklöshet att påstå....Varför skulle sociala strider icke ha en allmänsklig innebörd såväl som etiska, religiösa, vetenskapliga brytningar?—Tragiska förvecklingar, personlighetens brottnings med sig själv under stridiga idéers slitning äro icke uteslutna i den kampen.”

I den ovan anförda skriften, *Proletärfilosofien*, säger Heidenstam ett vackert ord, som må tjäna som övergång till vår framställning av det tredje och väl sista stadiet i hans förhållande till den realistiska dikten. Det lyder så: ”Vis, saklig, stilla och försynt, med ett vänligt leende, så skall människan vara” (sid. 34). Så framstår författaren just icke själv i sin polemik, men det är just de egen-skaper, som känneteckna honom i hans senaste diktsamling *Nya Dikter*, utgiven till julen 1915. I det stora hela uttrycker sig i denna ett temperament och en åskådning, som väsentligt avvika från den forne Heidenstams. I en av dikterna, ”Ålderdomen,” som är allaredan från 1895—samma år då hans andra diktsamling utkom, men medtagen först i den sista—har han en intuitiv förkänning av denna förändring. De två första stroforna lyda:

Jag vet, att en gång tystna
de stormar, som mig förde
till mången kust, där lystna
satyrers spel jag hörde.

Då skall omkring mig världen
stå from och barnafager
—men det är höstens dager
på minnena från färden,
på vännerna i ringen,
på kvinnorna och tingen.

Det är den första allaredan övergivna livsnjutningens ståndpunkt, som där åsyftas.—Övergången från den ställning, han då, år 1895, intog, till den som ger hans *Nya Dikter* sin prägel, antydes i 3-4 stroforna:

Välkomnad, ur det höga
skall friden breda vingen
kring sista nattens vaka,
då själens slöjor rämna,
—Men det är gubbens öga,
som vidgat ser tillbaka
den stund han allt skall lämna.

Ur vågorna, som irra,
 ur dyningen som sjuder,
 snart vilans stjärnor stirra.
 Men först skall kransen gulna!

Starkt framträder i denna diktsamling förmimmelsen av en redan inbruten ålderdom; njutningslystnaden och skönhetsjagandets period var längesen över; nu är också den trotsiga striden slut, den tid, som återstår, är till för begrundan och ensamhet. Denna stämning finner väl ock en anknytningspunkt i en annan dikt från samma utvecklingsskede, nämligen "Djävulens frestelse" i *Dikter*, där Kristus frestar djävulen med "ökenensamhetens härlighet":

Skall min ungdoms lära jag stena?

.....

Jag säger dig, vandrande mästare,
 du är större än jag som frestare.

I sin senaste diktsamling mediterar skalden mer och djupare än någonsin förr över människorna, över livet och över döden. Hans blick har blivit mildare och når därför djupare:

men där jag går, jag ser, att rätt och heder
 min ovän ock på skölden skrivet bär,

hans sympati har både vidgats och blivit varmare t. ex. i dikten "Vi människor":

Vi, som mötas några korta stunder
 barn av samma jord och samma under,
 på vår levnads stormomflutna näs!
 Skulle kärlekslöst vi gå och kalla?
 Samma ensamhet oss väntar alla,
 samma sorgsna sus på gravens gräs.

Och i "Klostret," den lilla korta men rika dikten från 1915, där det kloster, som vi söka, är graven:

O, hur heligt där i sitt vita dok
 bröder och systrar stilla bo.

Hur återspeglas nu denna stämning just i den sida av skaldens diktning, vi här behandla? I den ståtliga, av en djärv fantasi burna dikten "Molnvandring" (skriven 1912) finna vi svaret. En grånad skald—icke en stridens och handlingens man längre utan kontemplationens och sångens—stiger på sin aftonvandring upp till molnens ljusa värld. Solguden där manar honom att sjunga ett gammalt drapa, ett sådant som fröjdar jordens söner. Men skalden sjunger om sin förlorade tro på det godas makt; nu härska på jorden trälarna, hjältarnas tid är ute:

Det var herrarna förr, som brände
och redo omkull de många och små,
nu är det de många, som bränna de få.
För trälen är det raka krokigt,
det grova roligt, det höga tokigt.

Och han slutar med en bön till guden:

Det multrar ur djupet som rullande block.
Statt upp, o herre, och hjälp den flock,
som än för själens höghet strider!

Men solguden bestraffar honom "faderligt sakta": skalden skall ej "kvida och klaga," han skall sjunga om livets krigarsaga. Eländet på jorden skall ej få bringa honom till förtvivlan; det har sin höga uppgift:

Det stora, det sköna, det visa
får icke vila allt för mjukt
och vakna trött med sinnet sjukt.
.....
Det skall fostras hårt, som skall växa till makt,
och länge får svärdet renas i härden,
som åter en gång skall besitta världen

Och det är blott tillfälligt:

Jag ler åt tumlet, ty jag vet,
att ännu skall för allt som lider,
för hjärtats blyga ödmjukhet
och själens kyskhet blomma nya tider.

Den första av de båda i solgudens svar antydda tankarna ger skalden uttryck åt även i dikten "Ett folk":

Ej vill jag tigga om soliga år,
om skördar av guld utan ände.
Barmhärtiga öde, tänd blixten, som slår
ett folk med år av elände!
.....
Mitt folk, du skall vakna till ynglingadåd,
den natt du på nytt kan gråta.

Tanken är, i förbigående sagt, ej ny hos Heidenstam. Den är en av grundtonerna i första delen av *Folkungaträdet*. Den andra tanken åter, om eländets tillfällighet, att det skall bli bättre, kommer fram också i dikten "Drömsyn på änglen":

Beprisa skola för vad jorden fick
då släkten starkare än våra,
så stora gudar, att profeters blick
knappt deras höjder än kan spåra.

Alldeles tydligt ljuda i "Molnvandringen" ekon från den stora litterära fejden från 1911. Sin forna ståndpunkt har skalden ej övergivit—men han själv är förändrad. Är det modfällighetens eller ålderdomens trötthet, som präglar honom? Eller är det så, att han i sin ålders höst med dess klara septemberluft ser längre, ser, att *all* sanning och *all* rätt ej äro odelade på bara *en* sida; att livet lärt honom, vad det vill lära oss alla, att det är på både gott och ont, lärt honom att med kärlek se och med kärlek döma. I dikten "Vid vägens slut" säger han:

Vis, o mänska, det blir du först
när du hinner till de aftonsvala
höjders topp, där jorden överskådas.

Men i vilket fall som helst—vad är skillnaden mellan denna skaldens nyförvärvade resignationens ro och den, som Ola Hansson, vilken Heidenstam i *Renässans* anför som typisk representant för den förkättrade 80-tals dikten, ger uttryck åt i den dikt "Ett öppet ord," som avslutar hans år 1885 utgivna diktsamling *Notturmo*:

"Att veta så innerligt fast och visst,
att lyckan slår ögonen opp till sist,
att andra skörda, där vi ha sått,
den livets lycka, som vi ej fått,
att inne i våndan slumrar ro,—
min enda, stora tro."

JULES MAURITZSON.

Augustana College.

REVIEWS

UMLAUT UND BRECHUNG IM ALTSCHWEDISCHEN von Axel Kock. Lund, Mai 1916. Pp. V + 391.

This book has been translated into German from the Swedish manuscript of the author by two of his friends and colleagues. It has arisen in part out of a number of his previous contributions to leading Swedish and German philological journals, in part out of the study of the investigations of other scholars. The author announces in the preface that the subject will be further treated in the first half volume of the third part of his *Svensk ljudhistoria*, which is to appear within a few months.

The present work treats of mutation and breaking in Old Swedish, but the corresponding developments in the other Old Scandinavian languages have been carefully discussed, so that it is in fact a valuable comparative treatment of mutation and breaking in Old Scandinavian.

This is a large comprehensive work treating of every phase of the subject. While the author announces further treatment in his *Svensk ljudhistoria*, it seems probable that the present book will become the standard work of reference on this subject. The later work will contain more Old Swedish examples, but the present book treats more fully of the other Old Scandinavian languages, and thus becomes a well-rounded treatise valuable for its wide range and scientific precision.

The 323 large pages of the book are not so much characterized by a heaping up of materials as by a discriminating use of materials, so that more space can be devoted to the scientific explanation of the development of the sound changes treated. Great care is given to the chronology of these developments and to their geographical spread. The treatment of these changes is unusually clear and convincing. It becomes perfectly evident that *i*-mutation of *e*, as in Old Swedish "gīra," *to desire*, from Pre-Norse "gernian," and *a*-mutation, as in Icelandic "heðan," *hence, from here*, from Pre-Norse "hiðan," are Pre-Norse, not Pre-Germanic developments. The frequent comparison of these older conditions with their corresponding modern forms adds great practical value to the study and greatly extends the range and usefulness of the book.

The bringing together of mutation, as in "gīra" from "gernian," and breaking, as in Old Swedish "biarg", *mountain*, from Pre-Norse "berga," is quite appropriate, for, as becomes evident everywhere in this book, the two developments are closely related, as in both cases the changes consist of the assimilation or partial assimilation of the stem vowel to the vowel in the next syllable.

The large index of 57 pages, containing the individual words treated, and the carefully prepared table of contents place the rich stores of the book at the disposal of the reader.

GEORGE O. CURME.

Northwestern University.

BALLAD CRITICISM IN SCANDINAVIA AND GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt, Ph.D. New York, 1916, The American-Scandinavian Foundation. Pp. 335.

Quite apart from the new aesthetic of Croce, and the new criticism set forth by Professor Spingarn in the Columbia University *Lectures in Literature*, both of which deny the existence of any poetic kinds, and therefore rule the ballad out of court, the drift of recent investigation in this *genre* is to refuse recognition of it as a *genre*, as a distinct species of poetry. It is hard to see, then, why so many able papers still appear on the "ballad question," when the ballad question has been struck from the list of living issues. Why slay the slain? Within three years, twice as many capital articles on this theme have come to the address of the present reviewer. One says that popular and traditional ballads not only have fallen from grace, but are also deprived of their existence as a separate poetic class, and are to be put where the eighteenth century put them, with all poems that are "grown out of kind," the derelicts, byblows, degenerates, and a few masterless pieces of merit. Another says that the differencing qualities of the ballad, indicated so late as 1911 by Professor W. P. Ker in his address before the British Academy, are not differencing qualities at all, but, even in the guise of repetition and refrain, supposed popular elements are only peculiarities due now to mere garrulousness, and now, where iteration and dramatic effectiveness cannot be so classed, to the genius of a nameless poet. Yet another writer, in gentler mood, pleads with the romantic sinner to leave off his damnable "anthropology," and try to lead a decent literary life, a humanistic life. Finally, the cowboy songs of the southwest are used as vantage-ground for a bombardment that shall dispose forever of the heresy of the "Harvard School."

Now it is to be noted that all these articles agree, for their motive, in a perfervid horror of romanticism. It is taken for granted that whatever is romantic is wrong, that all who are wrong are romantic, and that the achievements of a century of historical and comparative scholarship must go among the wastes of time. Moreover, now in so many words, now by implication, the writers return to the point of view of the early eighteenth century, to a rationalism differing from the Johnsonian sort only by use of the twentieth century dialect, and by throwing a little harmless psychological dust into the reader's eyes.

What, now, are the real connotations of "romantic?" What was the actual outcome, good or bad, sane or wild, silly or genial, of that age of scholarship and research, so far as the ballad question is concerned? How much of this romantic theory, so called, strikes its roots in the older criticism? And what was the outcome of that other school of criticism which is surely not dishonoured by the name of rationalist? A partial answer to all this querying may be found in the book now under review. It is a book of summaries, and of direct excerpt and quotation. The summaries,—for example, that on the drift of criticism from Sidney to Addison,—repeat, in the main, what was known before; but the particular gleanings of opinion, gathered in painstaking search of many forgotten letters and books and periodicals, bring a store of new and welcome material. One is glad to have the definition of "ballad" from Philips, John

Dennis's comment on Ben Jonson's famous but vaguely authorized praise of *Chevy Chase*, the real Robert Heron in his views of balladry, articles from the *Edinburgh Bee*, and a host of similar rescues from the Scandinavian. So far as the title of the book undertakes to follow ballad criticism, the task has been accomplished. But there is much more to do. It was no part of Dr. Hustvedt's plan to cover the nineteenth century, with its triumphs of the romantic school, or to go so far afield as Germany within the limits of the earlier period. But it may be pointed out that on his chosen ground he does not disentangle from the important discussion of poetic origins by such men as Lowth, Robert Wood, Dr. John Brown, and others, the particular comments, suggestions, comparisons, which inspired Hamann, Herder, and perhaps Bürger himself with a "romantic" theory of the ballads. Such disentanglement would be a boon. For precisely in that question of the ballad as poetic form, and not as poetic material, there is regrettable confusion of treatment, which a reasoned statement of the old views might well clear up. What one author (p. 298) calls "a definite conception of the ballad as a type," reached by the Scandinavian critics "even before the beginning of the eighteenth century," on the one hand, and, on the other, those "special theories regarding authorship" of the individual ballads, with which the same critics were not "much concerned," are too often treated as interchangeable if not identical terms. They are very properly separated by our author, as they were by the older critics. Modern critics confuse them. Most of the German dissertations, following John Meier's *Kunstlied im Volksmunde*, treat the history of ballad criticism in the spirit of this confusion; so do literary critics like Professor Gregory Smith and Mr. Henderson; so do the American writers who will confute the "Harvard school." There remains to be written a right history of romantic ballad criticism, of the comparative and historical studies in popular verse through most of the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany and Scandinavia, and of the current rationalistic opposition. In such a book the romantic theory of the ballad, and its provenance, would be championed by at least one of the greatest of all ballad collectors and ballad lovers, "the chief of those who know." What Svend Grundtvig thought of the authorship of ballads can be read in abstract, so to speak, in his introduction to *Marsk Stig*.¹ What he thought of the ballad as a type, a kind, and its origins, is set forth in his introduction to the German translation by Rosa Warrens.² Here his views run directly counter to those of Ferdinand Wolf, who a year before had written an introduction to the same translator's Swedish ballads. Material of this sort has been gathered, but not completely or in strict confinement to the field of balladry. The book that should be made upon these lines would be a pendant to the present volume, because of the preponderance of romantic opinion in the nineteenth century, slowly yielding to a new rationalism at the last, compared with a reversed process in the preceding age. Together, the two books would give a definitive history of ballad criticism.

FRANCIS B. GUMMERE.

Haverford College.

¹ *D. G. F.*, III, 339, beginning with "En saadan opfattelse . . ."

² *Dänische Volkslieder der Vorzeit*, Hamburg, 1858.

HOLBERG OG ENGLAND av Viljam Olsvig. Kristiania, 1913, Forlagt av H. Aschehoug & Co. Pp. 346.

During the past twenty years Hr. Viljam Olsvig has published eight works on Holberg, of which the present volume is the last, altho the greater part of it was written at the beginning of the period. After making vain attempts to get a government subsidy the author arranged three years ago for its publication without such public support. Both the author and the publisher are to be heartily congratulated on the make-up of the substantial volume, which is a model both of material and printing. The only serious fault to be found with the book on the side of arrangement is the absence of an index, which would have added materially to its usefulness. This is a negative fault, however, too often found in continental books, for which the system, not the individual author and publisher should be held responsible.

The author has based his study upon a very thoro investigation of his material, his first visit to England having been made as early as 1878. On later visits many months were spent in the Bodleian Library and he has evidently inhaled much of the spirit of Oxford. His references to the English authors in whom he feels that he has discovered influences upon Holberg are very full, tho not always accurate, and he has succeeded in finding many undoubted sources that have been overlooked by earlier students of Danish literature. Having a definite thesis to defend, namely, that the chief foreign influence upon Holberg both as a critical and a creative writer, is English, he has inevitably tried to prove much that will not appeal to the unbiased reader as reasonable. While it is undoubtedly far from the truth to call Holberg, as many have done, the Danish Moliere, it is, in the opinion of the reviewer, equally exaggerated to refer practically the entire inspiration of his political, social and literary views to English sources. The truth lies somewhere between these extremes. Holberg was probably as little a John Bull as a Jean de France and in spite of his undoubted admiration of English institutions and of English literature he realized to a singular degree the ideal of Brand, "at være sig selv nok." But the discussion of Holberg's originality must be left to its proper place, where it is believed that full justice has been given to Olsvig's treatment of the subject.

The book is divided into twelve unnumbered chapters, evenly divided between the treatment of England during the first decade of the eighteenth century, when Holberg spent two and a half years there, and the relation of Holberg to various English authors and institutions. One chapter is devoted to two writers, in whom Olsvig rightly finds especially important suggestions, Addison and Swift. The volume closes with seventy pages of sources, notes, and appendices.

The most interesting, original, and debatable chapter is the ninth, in which the author tries to explain Holberg's apparently deliberate avoidance of references to England before 1743. This discussion is clearly an essential part of the main thesis. If a plausible excuse for ignoring thru a period of many years the influences to which he was most indebted can be furnished, one of the main difficulties is immediately removed. According to Olsvig, this remarkable silence on an important point was a result of the political and ecclesiastical conditions in Denmark during the first four decades of the eighteenth century,

under which everything English was anathema to the ruling classes. Molesworth's unflattering *Account of Denmark* was not yet forgotten and probably contributed not a little to the hostile attitude towards England. The autobiographical letter of 1726 is characterized by Olsvig as "merely an apologetic pamphlet," intended to meet the attacks of his enemies and to prevent their efforts to deprive him of his professorship at the University. Holberg is characterized as follows: "Diplomatic discretion was from his youth the strong side of this artist." Anyone who can say this of the author of Peder Paars and the Danish Comedy must be singularly lacking in a sense of humor or in discernment of character. It is extremely doubtful if Holberg's contemporaries, especially his opponents, would have endorsed such a view. It would seem to apply about equally well to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.

It is only fair to state that Olsvig, in spite of his apparent efforts to exaggerate Holberg's indebtedness to English writers, recognizes fully the essential originality of Holberg's genius. He even goes so far as to contradict the statement made in the introduction to an English translation of Niels Klim that that work is "an obvious imitation of the Gulliver of Swift and cannot therefore claim the praise of original invention" and claims that "it is merely the frame for which Holberg is indebted to Swift. The object of the satire and the material are not an imitation of Gulliver, and even the framework is so little imitative that there is not a single feature common to the two works. Holberg's invention of the character Klim and his experiences is entirely original . . . the work of his imagination." This view of Holberg's originality, as applied to a single work, is eminently sound and it should be borne in mind when the author seems to go too far in pressing his claims of English influences.

Less sound, in the reviewer's opinion, is the view of the influence of English upon Holberg's Danish. While Holberg admits himself that his Danish speech was somewhat affected by his long-continued use of English, it cannot be accepted as in any way certain that "in 1708 Holberg spoke English with greater confidence and purity than he could speak or write Danish in the immediately succeeding years." It is at least suspicious that the only English phrase quoted from Holberg, "He looks as an Englishman," (p. 95) is markedly unidiomatic, showing that on that occasion Holberg was thinking in Danish. The temporary contamination of his Danish speech may be compared to a statement made by a later consummate master of Danish prose, Dr. Georg Brandes of the effect upon his style of his long stay in Germany. While it is a familiar fact that Holberg's language shows frequent traces of his Norwegian origin, just as a Scotchman seldom writes English entirely free from Scotticisms, it is going too far to say that it developed into "a Norwegian-Danish, . . . a Skagerack-Danish, or Bergen-Danish." The author should have stopped with his first more moderate phrase. He seems to protest too much.

An interesting feature of the book is the translation of the long treatise "Concerning Certain European Peoples," which formed about a fifth of the third Latin Epistle, published in 1743, but which Olsvig believes was written not later than 1728 and probably in 1727. This is claimed to be the first complete and accurate translation of the treatise. It is, in the main, a eulogy of the English people, largely at the expense of the French, and its significance in connection with the author's main thesis is evident. It need hardly be added that due emphasis is given to it.

In a work containing so many references to persons and books it is unavoidable that some errors and inaccuracies should appear, especially when most of the references are in a foreign language. It is evidently merely a slip when Archbishop Laud is referred to as Henry the Eighth's prime minister or when the date of the *Fairie Queen* is given as 1690. Sir Philip Sidney's dates should be 1554-86, not 1534-86, p. 330. Defoe was born in 1660 or 1661, not 1663, and the collected edition of his works appeared 1840-41, not 1741. Burnet's *History of my own Time* was published 1723 and 1734, not 1724, and the third volume of the *History of the Reformation* appeared in 1714, not 1715. Some other similar errors were noted, but under the circumstances, the number is not excessive and in no case do they seem to have any special significance.

In conclusion the reviewer, while not accepting *in toto* the general conclusions of the author and in many of the details disagreeing wholly with him, cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that students of Holberg cannot fail to profit greatly from a careful reading of this contribution, which is so evidently a work of love. Let each accept what he can, with the assurance that what he rejects will not do him any harm, while what he accepts may do him much good.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

University of Illinois.

GUSTAF CEDERSCHIÖLD: FRESTA DUGER JÄMTE ANDRA UPPSATSER. Stockholm, 1914. P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag. Pp. 257.

As one of the most genial and most successfully popular collections of studies on linguistic, literary, and historical subjects, I take particular pleasure in calling attention to this volume by Gustaf Cederschiöld. There are in all twenty-four studies; of a number of these the chief object is to give in a form intelligible to the general reader the results of recent technically scientific works on the subjects treated. The book takes its name from the first study, *Fresta duger*; this and the ten following studies deal with the Swedish language, chiefly with the question of how best to enrich Swedish by the recognition and general use of words not generally known or used (words used by modern authors, in the dialects, archaic words), and how to replace unnecessary foreign words by better native ones. Professor Cederschiöld announces that he is engaged in writing a book on this subject. The second study, *Internationell svenska och folklig svenska*, contains illustrations in parallel columns of passages in Swedish newspaper style effete with loan-words and the same paraphrased into native Swedish. Then there follow: *Duger "ovacker?"*, *Sammansatta substantiv med adjektiv till förled*, *Dvandva-sammansättningar i nutidssvenska*, *Imperativiska substantiv*, *Slang* (based on the material in Wilh. Uhrström's recent book *Stockholmska*), *För riksspråket nya verb, som bildats genom avledning*.

In the study *Hemvant och främmande i nominalböjningen* the conclusion is reached that it is the less common adjectives of certain types that do not have the indefinite neuter form, this being due largely, perhaps, to the difficulty in association with the common-gender form on account of change in vowel quantity (as in *flat*, *flatt*, *god*, *gott*); he points out, further, that an adj. n. form like *frott* could be associated with any of the common-gender forms *fro*, *frod*,

frol, frodd, frott. Most of the adjectives in question are foreign, and Cederschiöld urges that these be replaced, as far as possible, by native equivalents which might be inflectible. The second part of this study deals with the use of *-ar* and *-er* in forming plurals to common-gender nouns. He finds that *-ar* is the productive plural-type, and urges the use of this in those cases where either form is now possible. An additional and excellent proof that *-ar* is the productive form could have been found in the fact that this is the plural ending almost exclusively given to nouns borrowed from American English into the Swedish spoken in America. This is just the opposite of what has happened to loan-words in Sweden, where *-er* has been preferred; the American loans at once become part and parcel of the speakers' innermost language-consciousness. *Penna och öra* urges against the writing of Swedish which, when read aloud or mentally, is cacophonous. In *Välljud och missljud i nutida svenska språkarter*, the author applies to the question of the relation between *normalstil* and colloquial language the principle of euphony; on this basis he prefers *ögon* to *ögonen*, *ben* to *benen*, *den odygdiga pojken* to *den odygdige pojken*, etc. Other titles are *Kung Orre*, *Ett kungligt nykterhetstal från Nordens medeltid* (Sverre), *Fömannavälde och anarki på Island under Sturlungatiden*, *Skelsa, Brynja*, etc., *Ur den nordiska fiskarbefolkningens historia*, *Till Bohusläns äldre historia*, *Till Skandinaviens historia på 1600-talet*, *Ny Eddalitteratur* (Cederschiöld urges the translation of the Edda into some suitable modern metrical form). In another study he sets forth the opinion that Snoilsky's *Carolus Linnaeus* has been much influenced by Rydberg's *Dexippos*. In *Ledareskiftet i S A O B*, attention is called to the great work of K. F. Söderwall in connection with the dictionary of the Swedish Academy. One of the most interesting of the studies is *Sapere aude! Några ord om och till Svenska Akademien*. Cederschiöld suggests a thorough reorganization of the Swedish Academy so that it may fulfill its avowed purpose under present conditions. He urges that all the eighteen members be expected to devote all of their time to the work of the Academy, that they be elected to it when they are in their most productive years, that they be dropped from active membership when they are no longer able to do active enough work, and, finally, that there be financial remuneration for the work thus done. He suggests, further, that the eighteen be formed into three groups (each consisting of specialists in the fields to be named), and that these groups devote themselves to (1) the Dictionary, (2) Swedish literature, (3) world literature. The members devoting themselves to the last-named subject would have in charge the selection of the Nobel Prize winners in literature.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON'S EN GLAD GUT, edited for school use by J. A. Holvik, A. M., Minneapolis, Minn., 1916. Augsburg Publishing House. Pp. 169.

The present edition of *En glad gut*, the editor informs us, is prepared for students who have completed a beginners' course or otherwise acquired a reading knowledge of the language, and who therefore are expected to study the book as literature. Mr. Holvik has not deemed it necessary to include conversation and composition exercises based on the text, believing that "students who have advanced beyond the stage of the beginner will no doubt profit more by impromptu response to oral questions than by giving prepared answers to

questions in the book." This I believe is sound preaching, "gid vi kunde skikke os derefter." It is a pity that so many of our modern language text-editions have to be made with view to help bridging over the teacher's ignorance of the language he professes to teach.

The text of the edition before us is preceded by an Introduction of six pages, giving a brief account of Bjørnson's early career and the literary movements of the period that witnessed the production of his peasant stories. The orthography is made to conform with modern usage as sanctioned by royal decree of 1907. A number of double forms occur, which the editor deems unavoidable on account of the present unsettled state of the language, and for such inconsistencies the editor cannot be criticized.

The mechanical make-up of the book is all that can be desired in an edition of this kind. It is neatly bound, printed on good paper, and in large, clear type. This much to the credit of the publishers.

A complete vocabulary is provided, and the explanatory notes have been placed at the foot of each page.

In general, the reviewer would say about the edition that the usefulness of the vocabulary would have been improved if etymologies had been given, at least of words whose real significance is not covered by the English translation. In like manner, some of the explanations in the foot-notes might possibly have been more complete, in order to aid the students, especially such as know little or nothing about Norway or Norse peasant life. In his definitions and renderings of idioms and phrases the editor has evidently tried to be as original as possible. His diction might in some instances have been improved, had he more freely used some of the excellent authorities available. In his desire, apparently, to employ a colloquial and popular style to correspond with the original, he has in his rendering of Norse idioms sometimes resorted to expressions that border close upon vulgarism and slang or are not good English. On the whole, however, the brevity and conciseness of both the notes and the definitions of the vocabulary are qualities that I would most heartily commend in the present edition.

In particular, I shall cite a few instances, where, it seems to me, there is room for improvement. I would say, in addition, that the explanations are at times inadequate or else the real sense of the idiom is not kept in view or pointed out.

P. 11. LYDDE: "*called*." A curious error. *lydde* means "*listened*", not "*called*", which must be supplied from the context.

P. 13. STELLET MED. In the foot-note: "*taken care of*." A free translation, which is satisfactory here, but no other explanation of this idiom is given and the verb is not found in the vocabulary?

P. 14. ER DU PAA STEL? "*Are you out of your wits?*" Correct, but why not explain the word *stel*, which is not in the vocabulary?

P. 19. LIVÖRE: "*Annuity*. The room reserved for the old people when an heir takes charge of the *gaard*, is called *livørestuen*." True, but the same may be the case if a stranger buys the farm. The old owners may reserve their annuity.

P. 20. SLIK SAT DE OG SKAPTE SIG TIL: "*At skape sig til, to act up, to cut capers*." *Act up* is not good English, and *cut capers* is not a happy translation, although

possibly by stretching a good deal it may be made to cover the meaning of the Norse expression.

P. 22. FANTUNGER: Rendered in the vocabulary, "Fantunger, fant, gypsy." The schoolmaster does not refer to the children as gypsies, and the word *fantunger* is not necessarily used in that sense, unless there is a particular reference to gypsies. *Fant* means gypsy, but primarily a tramp, or pauper, a good for nothing fellow.

P. 29. GALT PAA FÆRDE: "Paa færde, a-going; here the meaning is: the people of the house thought he had gone mad." Why not explain the idiom more fully? In the vocabulary it is printed as a compound, "paafærde."

P. 47. KJÆLKEFØRE: "favorable conditions for coasting." No definition of *føre* is given in the notes or vocabulary.

P. 50. VIST: "The editor is in doubt as to whether this word should be *visst* (surely), or *vist*, expressing supposition." *Viss, visst*, are the adjective forms. In this case *vist* cannot be anything but an adverb. It may mean either *certainly* or *I suppose*. The context would seem to give preference to the latter meaning.

P. 54. SLOG AV: "renounced." Not an exact rendering; why not translate *deduct, discount*, which is a correct meaning and fits the context better?

P. 59. SLAAR OP: "At slaa op, to open (a book)." *At slaa op* means more than to open a book. It usually, as here, has the sense of *looking up* for the sake of verifying a point or seeking information.

P. 64. STRÆKKE SIG SAA LANGT: "Put themselves so much out." This rendering, besides being a vulgarism, does not express the meaning of the Norse idiom.

P. 65. LEMMEN: "upstairs." The primary meaning of *lem*, trapdoor, is not given here nor in the vocabulary.

P. 66. SLIT DEM MED HEISEN: "wear them with health." Is this English?

I quote the editor's paragraph on Accent, page 124: "Words are accented on the first syllable unless otherwise marked. Words of more than one syllable usually take the *composite musical accent* ('): a falling inflection (a major third) on the first syllable, and a rising inflection (major fourth) on the others. The *simple musical accent* (') is a rising inflection; it applies to words of one syllable and to words of two syllables if the second is the post-definite article *-en* (or *-et*). Exceptions to these general rules are marked."

This is a rather inadequate treatment of so vast a subject as intonation. The editor would have done better in confining himself to a consistent and correct marking of the stress accent only. Proper intonation of both word and sentence can only be acquired by hearing the language spoken. The editor does not appear always to have been consistent in the marking of the accent. If the accents marked are supposed to represent musical accents or exceptions to the rule given, wherein does the accent differ in *aabenbar, aandedrag* and *al'derdom?* and is the intonation the same in *aands'fortærelse* and *a'kerbruk?* Furthermore, *allerede, allerhelst, allerminst* are surely not accented on the first syllable. Other examples might be cited.

On the whole the editing is well done, and both teachers and students of Norse will be grateful to the editor for having made this charming story of Norwegian peasant life available for class use.

N. FLATEN.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON'S EN GLAD GUT, edited by Guy Richard Vowles. Menasha, Wis., 1915. The Collegiate Press. Pp. xiii+143.

With the increasing interest in Scandinavian studies at our schools and colleges the lack of adequate text-books has become more and more apparent. Until some twenty-five years ago there were practically no available means of approach to Norwegian literature through the medium of English. Since that time several very useful grammars and readers have appeared; but the helps thus provided have necessarily been more or less fragmentary. The student requires in addition some longer complete texts. Of these there have been too few.¹ Professor Vowles, therefore, in bringing out an edition of Björnson's *En glad gut*, has rendered a distinct service to teachers and students. It would be difficult to find more suitable reading for the beginner than Björnson's early novels. They are individually not too long to be easily mastered by a class in the course of one semester; they are simple in language and style; moreover, though they may give an idealized presentation of rural life in Norway, they rest essentially on a foundation of truth and possess real vitality and an appealing lyric grace. *En glad gut* has a satisfying measure of these good qualities.

Professor Vowles' edition contains a brief biographical and critical Introduction, a carefully annotated text, a series of "Exercises for translation into Norse" based on the several chapters of the book, and a full and usually accurate Vocabulary.

The following corrections should be made in the Notes:

Chap. I, n. 9: *spurte op*; supply *igjen*.

Chap. V, n. 12: *lot det staa strykende afsted* might be better rendered "raced over the ice."

Chap. VI, n. 22: *var* (instead of *er*) does not necessarily carry a deferential connotation.

Chap. VIII, n. 9: read *det indlagte brev*.

The following inaccuracies in the Vocabulary should also be noted:

aapenhet: omit "the open."

allerhelst naar: more correctly to be rendered "especially at the time when."

anledning by itself cannot mean "regarding."

bane: not "lead to," but "prepare" (e. g., a way).

drive med: not "attend to," but "be occupied with."

grei: "to be trifled with" is confusing.

konfirmandt: not "confirmand," but "catechumen."

leiekone: omit "woman to clean."

lægge (sig til): cannot mean "follow."

stjale (sig): *bort* must be supplied after *sig* to give the meaning "steal away."

These few errors, however, make no serious inroads upon the real usefulness of the book as a class text.

S. B. HUSTVEDT.

University of Illinois.

¹ Few especially in Norwegian, but more in Swedish. See reviews in earlier numbers of the *Publications*.—Editor.

HENRIK IBSEN: *BRAND. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE.*
By Miles M. Dawson. The Four Seas Co., Boston, 1916, Pp. 304.

Most readers of these lines know the Herford translation of Ibsen's *Brand*, which introduced the drama to English students. Herford's book has been used extensively in this country, and it seemed so good a translation to the Archer Brothers that they decided to incorporate it into their series, hesitating to undertake a rendering themselves. And the C. H. Herford translation is good, albeit we may often wish a certain word or verse had been rendered differently; but we bear in mind that the translator had before him one of the most difficult tasks a translator could have. As to whether this new translation will meet with equal favor—we shall see. The present writer believes that Mr. Dawson has succeeded in producing an English *Brand* which is eminently readable and often happy in the rendering of difficult places, and he hopes that he will find reward for the labors of the task involved in the use the book will receive. I am of the opinion, however, that the rendering often departs from the original unnecessarily and to the weakening of the speech and the altering of the poet's style in some cases. I shall here note the following:

	Sönnen
Far, her er spriker!	
	Bonden
	Her er sprækker!
(Translation, pp. 12-13)	The Son
	Father, here
Are rifts; the glacier must be tearing. . . .	
	The Peasant
And here's a wider!	
And again pp. 14-15.	
	Brand
Jeg må; jeg går en stormands bud.	
	Bonden
Hvad heter han?	
	Brand
Han heter Gud.	
	Bonden
Og hvad er du for noget?	
	Brand
	Prest.
	Bonden
Kanhænde det; men jeg ved bedst, at om du så var provst og bisp, så ligger du i dødsens gisp før dagen gryr, hvis du vil frem på bræens undergravne brem.	
Translation:	
	Brand
I must press on; I go to take A great man's message.	

The Peasant
And his name?
Brand

His name is God.

The Peasant
Be that the same,

What sort of man are you?

Brand
A priest.
The Peasant.

Just so! But though you be at least
A bishop, yet before the dawn,
You'll gasp in death if you go on
Along the drifts o'erhanging edge
As if upon a solid ledge.

In such a case as this "Just so!" is very different from what the minister said: "Kanhænde det;" the last line is added to the original and is, of course, unnecessary. Also the peasant does not ask Brand "what sort of man" he is, but: "What are you," "What may you be."

I would not have omitted the stage direction *lyttende* on p. 14 (on p. 4, *Samlede Værker*, III); it emphasises Brand's attitude at the moment. It is better than to add "Hark!" to the speech. And in the stage direction on p. 42 (*S. V.*, 29) Ibsen's words "standser midtvejs på en fremspringende knart og ser ned i dybet" is lengthened out into something un-Ibsenian in the lines: stops midway of a crag which juts out over the gorge and, stepping to the edge, stands gazing down into it."

However it is possible that in my examination of parts of the text I have hit upon the few weak spots it has.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

SCANDINAVIAN PUBLICATIONS, RECENT AND FORTHCOMING

J. A. Holvik's *Beginners' Book in Norse*, 1915, is a revised edition of the edition of 1910 (though the title page does not indicate this). The new edition is a very distinct improvement over the first, and I would recommend it to schools and colleges as, in its new form, a thoroughly satisfactory book to use. In content there is the new feature of the inclusion of five lessons (XXXI-XXXV) of illustrated text dealing with Norway. There are here 35 pictures from all parts of Norway, most of them very good, which may very well, as the author intends them, be used as material for conversation and composition. While the increase of a "beginners' " book beyond the 284 pp. of the first edition to 350 of this edition might seem a doubtful proceeding, the kind of material that is here added is decidedly welcome. In other ways, too, the book has been changed; the treatment of the articles and adjectives is new and the "Pronunciation" has been rewritten in part, though it still contains things I would have eliminated (see my review of edition of 1910 in *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 49-52, which it appears the author has not noted.) A vocabulary is always a most difficult thing to prepare, and the present work, like its predecessors, is faulty here. Many words occurring in the text for the illustrations in lessons XXXI-XXXV are not glossed at all, as *skjærgaard*, *skogklædt*, *vandrik*, *søndenfeldsk*, etc. Without a complete glossary the purpose of the otherwise interesting and excellent text is in part defeated. Also there are omissions and incomplete definitions in the case of words occurring in the text of *En glad gut*. I have gone over only the first chapter, five pages of text. A few of the things I have noted here are: annotations are needed for *lænde lys paa* p. 154; and p. 155, l. 23; *gik i stykker*, p. 155; *paa skakke*, 156; p. *bli glad mere*, p. 159; *være glad i*, p. 160, and *ragget*, p. 156, defined "goat's whiskers," should be "wool, coarse hair." *Likesom* is only defined "as if," but p. 159, *likesom i katekismen*, it means "like" (like in the catechism). Also the *den* in *Nei, bukken er min*, *den* is sure to trouble the beginner who does not already have some speaking knowledge of Norwegian; and surely it is hoped that many such will use the book! The book is printed on excellent paper and the type is everywhere new and clear; also it is attractively bound. The publishers are the Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis.

Modern Icelandic Plays. Eyvind of the Hills. The Hraun Farm. By Jóhann Sigurjónsson. The translation of few Scandinavian plays could be more welcome at the present time than the above two by the great Icelandic dramatist. The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the translator Henning Krohn Schanche are both to be congratulated upon this contribution to English translations. The volume, which appears as Vol. VI of Scandinavian Classics (October, 1916, pp. XII+134), is of course intended especially for the general reader; but the attention of teachers may be called to the fact that these works can also be used to good advantage in college classes, e. g., in lecture courses on Scandinavian literature. Thus for courses in Scandinavian

drama we have the Foundation translations of Holberg (1914) and Strindberg's *Master Olov*, and now these two modern Icelandic plays, of which the student may therefore get first-hand knowledge. Then there are the Scribner series of Björnson and Strindberg plays, and of course Archer's Ibsen. Now we need a volume of Oehlenschläger, one of Runeberg and one or two of recent Norwegian dramatists. The present rendering seems to have been done with care and good taste as regards the English dress. I am not able at the present time to pass upon it as a translation for I do not own the Danish version from which the translation has been made. We hope to secure a review at a later time. There is a brief Introduction by Mr. H. G. Leach. The volume is attractively bound in the usual red of the "Classics" and excellently printed.

The second volume of translations published by the Foundation for 1916 is one of *The Prose Edda* by Snorri Sturluson, translated from the Icelandic with an Introduction by Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, it is a volume of 266 pages and contains all of the *Gylfaginning* and the *Skáldskaparmál*. It is a task of the greatest difficulty that the translator has undertaken here. To render into English the poetry of the *Skáldskaparmál* is something that most would hesitate about; yet a brief examination of the book seems to show that it is here that Dr. Brodeur has done his best work. Having just received the volume, I am not able now to offer a review, but hope to do so in the next issue of these Publications. The prose has, in my view, been translated with too close adherence to the words of the original. There is a good introduction, which also contains an account of earlier renderings.

An annotated edition, in attractive form, of Björnson's *En glad gut* by J. A. Holvik has just been issued by the Augsburg Publishing House. See review by Prof. Nils Flaten elsewhere pp. 282-284.

Less satisfactory than the above edition is that of Ibsen's *Kongsemnerne* published by the same firm, with J. H. Holvik and P. J. Eikeland as editors. The preface is in English and there is a good vocabulary. But the Introduction and notes are in Norwegian, a mixed method that is not wholly satisfactory. There seems to be no clear reason why the text should have been sent out in this way. The Introduction treats of the historical background of the drama (20 pages) and discusses in ten pages dramatic technic. The intelligent reading of this on the part of the student presupposes such a knowledge of Norwegian as to make the vocabulary on the drama practically superfluous. Hence why was not the vocabulary omitted if the book were intended for so advanced students and the edition made all in Norwegian? But if not so intended, the introduction would better have been written in English, as also the notes. The book is well printed on good paper.

Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland utgiven av Lauritz Weibull. Band 5-6, 1914-1915. This journal should be of special interest to those of our Swedish members who have come from Skåne or are of *Skåning* descent. The contents have dealt largely with medieval and early modern history of the province and with the architecture of old churches, and with early village history, seals, weapons, etc. (Here also: "Romanska målningar i Skånes kyrkor" by Otto Rydbeck, I, pp. 113-149). Of other contents we shall mention especially

Axel Kock's: "De senaste årens undersökningar af skånska bygdemål," in II, i-22; Ebbe Tuneld's: "Skånska runstensstudier" (including interpretation of the newly discovered runestones of Hästad and Skärby, as well as of lost Skanian runestones) III, 239-294; L. Weibull's "Rollo och Gånge-Rolf. En sägenhistorisk undersökning," IV, pp. 205-221; while the whole of Vol. VI is given over to a study of Saxo by Curt Weibull entitled: "Saxo. Kritiska undersökningar; Danmarks historia från Sven Estridsens död till Knut," VI, p. 296. The chief contribution in Vol. V is L. Weibull's "Den skånska kyrkans äldsta historia," pp. 109-155, which in this number brings the history of the church down to 1162, to be continued in a subsequent number. The *Tidskrift* is published at Lund.

Islandica, Volume VIII, Ithaca, 1915, pp. XIX+54. Vol. IX, 1916, pp. XII+72. The former of these two issues of the *Islandica* series deals with *An Icelandic Satire Written at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century* by Þorleifur Halldórsson; the edition prepared by Dr. Halldór Hermannsson offers first an Introduction which gives an account of the revival of literature in Iceland in the middle of the sixteenth century, and then a sketch of Halldórsson's life and a discussion of the place of his *Lof Lýginnar* in the literature of Fools (from Brant's *Narrenschiff*). Vol. IX above treats of *Icelandic Books of the Sixteenth Century*. As the art of printing reached Iceland about 1531, and as the first printer who had established himself at Hólar printed there in 1554 the so-called *Breviarium Nidrosiense* the only Icelandic book known to have been printed before the Reformation, the period covered by their works 1534-1600. The Introduction gives an account of printers and printeries, the first printer being Jóns Matthíasson, a Swede(!). The Bibliography that follows offers facsimiles of *Hid nya Testament* of 1540 and of several other books as well as of some of the finer initials.

Didrik Arup Seip: *En liten norsk Sproghistorie*. Andet oplag, Kristiania (H. Aschehoug & Co.), 1916, pp. 44. This little work is intended to be used along with instruction in the history of the Norwegian language in the "gymnasium." As the school regulations include also a survey of the present language condition, the author, in addition to the strictly historical part, offers a brief account (pp. 37-39) of the present dialect groups, supplemented by a map, after which the landsmaal and the spoken language of the cities are briefly treated; there is finally a list of the chief characteristics of Norwegian riksmaal (pp. 42-44). The work may be recommended to the general reader who wishes to have in the briefest possible form some main facts in the development of Norwegian. Naturally nothing more than that can be given in such brief space.

Leaders in Norway and Other Essays by Agnes Mathilde Wergeland. Edited and arranged by Katherine Merrill. The Free Church Book Concern, Minneapolis, 1916, pp. 193. This work is a memorial volume to the writer, being gotten in shape for publication after the writer's death by Katherine Merrill, who has also edited the book. The main part of the book is the two chapters on Henrik Wergeland, pp. 38-63 and Camilla Collett, pp. 64-101, of whose lives and work she presents a sympathetic and in every way excellent account.

These chapters are preceded by one on "The Primitive Norseman," one on "The Awakening of Norway," and one on "Westland and Eastland," into the second of which there breathes a good deal of the Wergelandian spirit of the signer of the national constitution, and of his son the poet. Perhaps the finest chapter in the whole book, however, is the third, an eloquent characterization of West and East Norwegian nature. There are also chapters on "Progress of the Woman Movement in Norway," "Ibsen and the Norwegians," "Second Sight in Norwegian Literature," "Grieg as a National Composer, and "The Cathedral at Trondhjem." There is a biographical sketch of the author by the editor. It is hoped that this deserving book may find many readers.

Bidrag till kännedom om Göteborgs och Bohusläns fornninnen, IX, 1. 1914, Pp. 111. The present issue of the journal of the Bohuslän branch of the Swedish Antiquarian Society is given over entirely to a somewhat detailed account of the ruins of Dyng castle, since 1750 called Gallmarsberg, which goes back to the second half of the XIIIth century. It would seem that Bohuslän has a larger number of old fortresses and castles than any other province in Sweden; thus of the primitive *bygdeborgar* about fifty are known. Then there are later types; the one at Dyng is a usual fortified castle of the later period. Among the many interesting objects in the find were two pearls of amber, a massive lance point, a horn borer, stone vases, various fragments of ornamented pattern besides, of course, objects of iron. There was a piece of painted tapestry (reproduced, p. 27) with pictures of men and women, animals, plants, "and also of hell, where figures with horns and with tails at the armpits and pokers in their hands are busily engaged roasting in kettles the poor sinners" (p. 27, translated here). There is an historical introduction and the usual account of the work of excavation.

Västmanlands fornminnesförenings årsskrift, VIII, a volume of pages 10+23+43, 1915, has just appeared. The last volume appeared in 1912; the amount of material issued by this branch of the Swedish Antiquarian Society is, therefore, small, but it has uniformly been of excellent quality. In the present volume there is issued a call to the people of Västmanland to "preserve piously" the old churches, old dwellings and old houses of various kinds, have pictures taken of them and descriptions sent in to the museum of Västerås. The most significant contribution in this number is Esket Olsson's "Västmanland under sten-och bronsåldern" with 34 figures of objects in the museum, among them a round-axe and two thin-necked axes of flint and a grind-stone, all from the earlier part of the latter half of the younger stone age. There are also thick-necked axes and variously shaped axes with shaft-holes, among the latter an unusually beautiful boat-axe from Berga in Björksta parish. Among the bronze finds may be especially noted the richly ornamented Fellingsbro axe with shaft-hole and of a shape like the stone axes. Claes Uggla reprints with an introduction Rasmus Klotz's "Rekenskapsbok, Anno 1539," of which there is a facsimile page.

Alfræði íslensk. Íslandsk encyklopædisk litteratur. II. Rimtöl. Udgivet for "Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur" ved N. Beckman og Kr. Kålund. 2 hæfte. Copenhagen, 1915, Pp. 161-304. Indledning, I—CLX.

With this number (which forms part of vol. 41 of the Samfund's publications) the text of the Rímtöl is completed with a group of "Efterslet" to the various manuscripts, the Register of words and names and the main part of the introduction. The register of words includes all words that may be regarded as belonging to technical terminology in the subjects treated and also such other words as have been formerly misunderstood: passages illustrative of the use of words are cited in the register. The introduction offers a valuable account of Icelandic and general medieval computistic literature and the Icelandic calendar texts with an account of earlier editions. Interesting is the "Exkurs I" on the Scandinavian element in the Finnish calendar and astronomical lore.

An investigation entitled "An Essay Toward a History of Shakespeare in Norway" by Dr. M. B. Ruud will be published by this Society in the near future, possibly in the spring of 1917. The work was done during two years of study in Scandinavia. A somewhat similar study dealing with "Shakespeare in Denmark," made during a stay in Copenhagen, is nearing completion. Of this work fuller announcement will be made later.

An annotated edition of Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem* for school and college by G. T. Flom is in preparation, and planned to be published in time so as to be available for use in September, 1917. It will have an introduction and vocabulary, and will be printed in the new orthography.

A new edition of Flom's *Synnøve Solbakken* by Bj. Bjørnson is also in preparation by the editor. It will differ from the earlier edition in that it will be in the new spelling and will contain a series of exercises based on the text. It is hoped that this volume can be out by September, 1917.

Professor H. Logeman of Ghent, Belgium, now residing in den Haag has for some years been engaged in studies in Ibsen's text. Prof. Logeman writes me that the results of these studies will now be published by the firm of Martinus Nijhoff of The Hague under the title *A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt,' Critical and Explanatory*. The work will also include Prof. Logeman's "Textual Criticism" which was ready for the press when the war broke out. See also the author's "Tilbake til Ibsen," *Edda*, 1914.

THE AMERICAN FACSIMILE EDITION OF KONUNGS SKUGGSJÁ. THE ARNAMAGNEAN MANUSCRIPT 243 B, a, FOLIO, IN PHOTOTYPIC REPRODUCTION WITH DIPLOMATIC TEXT. EDITED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BY GEORGE T. FLOM. *Large Folio size, bound in half leather, Pp. Introduction LXVII; Text 136; Notes, etc., 26; photographic pages of MS. 136 pages.* It is a great pleasure to me to be able to announce that the facsimile of *Konungspeilet*, announced four years ago, has now appeared. For the long delay I must plead the difficulties of getting such a work out under war conditions,—the censoring of mail, the loss of proof somewhere between here and Copenhagen, etc., led to delays for which neither printer nor editor were to blame. But it is now out—was issued in July, 1916—and it is offered to the scholarly world in the hope that it will be found as useful as the editor has earnestly desired it to be.

I quote from the *Foreword*: "With the publication of this edition, a long-cherished hope to offer scholars a facsimile of the main MS. of the *Konungs*

Skuggsjá (King's Mirror) is realized. The manuscript before us is interesting in many ways. For purity of language and dignity of style it is a document of no mean order. On the side of paleography it is in some respects no less interesting. To the historian it stands unique among the compositions of the time to which it belongs. The cultural significance of its contents, finally, gives it a foremost place among the monuments preserved from the classical age of Old Norse literature and, indeed, in mediaeval literature in general." The manuscript is written in a large regular hand, frequently employs highly ornamental initials and is in every way a beautiful example of hand-writing in Old Norwegian times. The original is a part of the manuscript collection of Arne Magnusson. It is a parchment codex of 136 pages, from about 1275-1285. The present edition offers an exact reproduction of this MS. The diplomatic text is similar in plan to that of the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda. The transcription of the text has been done entirely on the basis of the complete photographic copy of the MS. in the Scandinavian collection of the University of Illinois photographed at the Kongelige Biblioteks Ateliér at Copenhagen, where also the gelatin plates for this edition were made. The system usually followed in Scandinavian editions of diplomatic texts has been adhered to. But to a certain extent I have gone farther than these; I have aimed to reproduce also other paleographic features, such as minuscules enlarged for capitals where these occur in the text, the uncial, rare shapes of *ð*, *r*, *W*, *s*, *y*, etc., by which the diplomatic text is brought nearer to the MS. itself. The Introduction deals somewhat in detail with the paleography of the manuscript, its early history, dialect and date of writing. The work is printed on extra heavy high-grade paper; the printing has been done by the well-known house, Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen, Denmark, who, noted for their excellent work, have in this case put out a volume of the very highest quality artistically and scientifically.

The edition has been limited to 150 copies. Of these some thirty are still available for the American trade and about forty for Europe. Librarians in particular should take notice. Those who desire to secure a copy of this Facsimile should order at once. Write to "Speculum Regale, Business Manager, Room 156, Administration Bldg., University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois," though orders addressed to the Editor will be gladly forwarded.

GEORGE T. FLOM,
209 Lincoln Hall, Urbana.

RECENT SWEDISH PUBLICATIONS

Karin Ek's *Fredmansgestalten, En Studie* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 87, kr. 3) discusses Fredman from the point of view of appreciation of the beauty of nature and of life, imagination, feeling for realities, woman, music, wine, thought of death, humor, and exaltation. The book is enriched by ten vignettes by Elsa Björkman.

E. A. Karlfeldt's *Skalden Lucidor, Minne af Lars Johansson (Lucidor)* (för Svenska Akademiens handlingar år 1909; P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1914, pp. 131, kr. 3:25) gives in masterly language a vivid picture of this 17th century poet. After recounting what is known about the poet's life, the author discusses his literary predecessors in world-literature as well as in Sweden in the realm of pastoral poetry, and points out Lucidor's own literary characteristics, calling attention both to his secular and to his religious poetry; with these his wedding and funeral poetry are related, respectively, and these topics are discussed in two succeeding chapters. A short final chapter treats briefly of Petrus Lagerlöf's characterization and criticism of Lucidor, and contains a few general remarks about the poet's style and use of the language. The volume is richly illustrated with reproductions from Erik Dahlberg's drawings of Stockholm in olden times. There are also facsimiles of the title-pages of *Helicon blomster* as well as of several of the casual poems.

Fredrik Böök's *Essayer och kritiker, 1911-1912* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1913, pp. 288, kr. 3:75) deals chiefly with the following Swedish authors and works: Malla Silfverstolpe (in Berlin), Love Almqvist, Tegnér (*som brefskrifvare*), C. D. af Wirsén, Henrik Schück (*Svensk litteraturhistoria*), Sven Hedin, Per Hallström (*Nya noveller*), Hilma Angered-Strandberg (*Hemma*), K. G. Ossian-Nilsson (*Fågel Fenix, Ödets man*), Sigfrid Siwertz (*Målarpiraterna, Ämbetsmän på äfventyr*), Mikael Lybeck (*Tomas Indal*), Henning Berger (*John Claudius äfventyr, Lifvets blommor*), Ludvig Nordström (*Landsortsbohème*), Hjalmar Söderberg (*Den allvarsamma leken*). Among non-Swedish authors attention could be called to the essay on Valdemar Rørdam, Heinrich von Kleist, and Baroness von Arnim (Bettina Brentano) and her relations with Goethe. The last 57 pages are devoted to French matter.

Fredrik Böök's *Essayer och kritiker, 1913-1914* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. VI + 315, l.r. 4:50) opens with an address on *Kriget och kulturen*, in which the author calls attention to the fact that the present war is a great blow to internationalism in favor of nationalism. This is of course of profound importance also along literary lines. The volume is divided into three parts: Of foreign authors Böök discusses among others Gottfried Keller (especially *Folket i Seldwyla*, translated into Swedish), Wilhelm Raabe (*Hungerprästen*, translated), and Björnstjerne Björnson (*Gro-tid, Bref fra Årene 1857-1870*). Under the heading Swedish literature he deals with Fröding (*Reconvalescentia*), Oscar Levertin (Werner Söderhjelm's *Oscar Levertin, I*), Birger Sjödin (*Undret, Starka hjärtan*; Sjödin died in 1911 at the age of 24), Erik Axel Karlfeldt, Karl-Erik Forsslund (*Dalrikter och vandringsvisor*), Hjalmar Söderberg (*Den talangfulla draken*), Erik Fahlman (*Firman*

Åbergson), Sigfrid Siwertz (*En flänör*). Finally, under the heading *Estetik* attention might be called to essays on Yrjö Hirn (*Det estetiska lifvet*), Vilhelm Ekelund (*Tyska utsikter*), Per Hallström (*Lefvande dikt*), and Vilhelm Andersen (*Kritik*). Most of the studies in this volume, as in the volume mentioned in the preceding note have previously appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet* of Stockholm or in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of Helsingfors.

Fredrik Vetterlund's *Skissblad om poeter, En essaysamling* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1914, pp. 404, kr. 5:75) contains under the caption "Romantik" first the two studies "Svensk romantik, I, II," which have previously appeared as introductions in the work *Sveriges nationallitteratur 1500-1900*. Then there follows "Romantisk och naturalistisk romantik," "Atterboms Carolina," "Några Rydbergsstudier (I. Singoalladikten, II. Singoalla i dess sista överarbetning, III. Efebens nyklassiske diktare)," and finally a study dealing with C. D. af Wirsén. Under the heading "Dalarne och Skåne" there are essays on Erik Axel Karlfeldt and Ola Hansson; under "Idyllens poeter," essays on A. T. Gellerstedt, E. N. Söderberg, and Curt Thelander. In the final division of the book, "Utländskt," there are studies entitled "Jakob Knudsen," "Ett olyckligt plagiat" (dealing with Georg Brandes), "Voltaire som fordringsägare, och ett nytt Voltairebrev," and "Från Spaniens medeltid."

Fredrik Böök's *Tre noveller ur Strindbergs "Svenska öden och äventyr"* (*Odlad frukt—En oöfkommen—Pål och Per*)—*En litteraturvetenskaplig analys* (*Skrifter utgivna av Modersmålslärares förening*, Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 49, 75 öre), together with the text reprinted in a separate pamphlet and equipped with a commentary (this I have not been able to examine), should prove useful for the study of Swedish literature in American colleges and possibly in advanced classes in high schools. The 49-page pamphlet first points out that *Svenska öden och äventyr* must be looked upon from the point of view of literature rather than of history or a study of older Swedish life,—along the lines last mentioned it is far from being a masterpiece. Then there follows a separate study of each of the three stories selected for special consideration. Böök points out in some detail how the story told in each case reflects Strindberg's own life and experiences, though in *Pål och Per* there is less of personal experience and more of personal ideas and speculations based on conditions as they were in the eighties, when the work was written. A final chapter deals with *Svenska öden och äventyr* and the three stories selected, from a more general point of view. It is to be hoped that many more studies of this kind, and especially commented editions of modern Swedish works of literature, will be published by *Modersmålslärares förening*.

Svenska folksagor, redigerade av Gurli Linder (Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 195, kr. 2:50, in boards) contains eleven titles. The volume is well printed on attractive paper, and contains on the front cover an illustration to the first selection, *Fågel blå*. This collection of *folksagor*, as well as the one mentioned in the next note, would afford suitable reading material for classes in Swedish both in high schools and colleges. The comparatively simple vocabulary would make the use of a dictionary no great burden.

Svenska folksagor, samlade och utgivna av Gunnar Olof Hylltén-Cavallius och George Stephens, omarbetade av Elsa Djurklou-Aschan. Första delen. (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 225, kr. 2:75) contains eighteen titles. The volume is printed with large type and is equipped with numerous illustrations by Egon Lundgren. The province in Sweden from which the *saga* has been written down is stated in each case.

In C. J. L. Almquist, *Studier öfver personligheten* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1914, pp. VI + 250, kr. 4:25), Ernst Almquist has cast much new light upon this interesting personality, and, it is needless to say, disagrees with many of the previously expressed opinions. The present work is primarily a psychological study of the much misunderstood author, and devotes special attention to the qualities he inherited from his ancestors, on the basis of Mendel's Law. The book still leaves much unsettled, and in its pages attention is called to a multitude of matters that should be investigated. Especially is very little known about Almquist's sojourn in America. Ernst Almquist has based his work on a thoroughgoing and extensive study of the subject, and he has had the benefit of personal acquaintance with Almquist's daughter and half-brother. To a considerable extent the writer lets Almquist himself talk to the reader, that is, he quotes extensively from his works wherever this is possible, instead of giving his own account. Aside from biographical chapters, there are chapters on "Diktaren och svenska folklynnnet," "Diktaren inför världsgåtan," "Hans filosofi, religion, estetik," "Diktaren och de sociala frågorna," "Släkt och äftlighet." The final chapter, "Karaktäristik och analys," gives a good picture of Almquist's inner life. The introduction contains an enumeration of the leading works about Almquist. The volume is accompanied by a reproduction of Köhler's painting of Almquist in the thirties.

Erik Gustaf Geijer, *Minnen, Utdrag ur bref och dagböcker, Minnestal öfver Esaias Tegné, Personalier öfver Bengt Gustaf Geijer*, utgivna och försedda med en inledning af Fredrik Böök (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 349, of this introduction pp. 133, kr. 5). The introduction is divided into four chapters: "Verket" discusses briefly Geijer's autobiographical work, and points out that his *Den blå boken* is in a way identical with a second part of *Minnen*, which was never written. In "Ungdomslif och ungdomspoesi," Böök deals largely with Geijer's trip to England (cf. *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 298) and with *Vikingen*, pointing out that the writing of the poem *Vikingen* and the rest of Geijer's literary activity that followed immediately upon the return from this trip is not, as is sometimes represented, a result and a direct out-growth of his English experiences, but is in fact a reaction against the impressions of life he had received and an expression of disgust for them. The editor points out in some detail how *Vikingen* is in its origin connected with the trip to England and with Geijer's inner life. In the chapter "Hemkänslan och fadersbegreppet," Böök points out a unifying element in the two periods of Geijer's life, the conservative and the liberal. Chapter IV deals with "Realismen." The book is printed with type imitating that in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the paper is also characteristic of this period.

Fredrika Bremers bild, Kalender utgifven af Sigrd Leijonhufvud och Ellen Kleman (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1913, pp. 147, kr. 2:25, in boards) succeeds in giving a good picture of the personality of Fredrika Bremer. The book opens with a treatise containing excerpts from *Fredrikas första resebok*, of which practically nothing has previously been printed; this gives the impressions that Fredrika got from her travels with her family in Germany and France during 1821-22. In a study entitled *Vägen till Hertha*, Hilma Borelius depicts Miss Bremer's inner and literary development from her earliest writings to the book in which Hertha is the principal character. Emilia Fogelklou then discusses Hertha in a contribution entitled *Hertha som figur och tendens*. Under the title *I en vänskaps spegel* we have printed a large number of the letters that passed from Fredrika Bremer's hand to Malla Silfverstolpe; these give us a particularly good insight into the inner life and personality of the author. Lotten Dahlgren discusses in *Porträttet* the question of how Fredrika Bremer really looked; she takes into consideration various extant portraits and photographs, pointing out that some of the portraits are unrealistic and that the photographs show us a woman already aged, almost more aged in appearance than in years. This sketch also gives us a good idea of her dress and general bearing and her mode of living. There are also many touches revealing her inner self. Under the heading *Årsta*, Ellen Kleman describes the family residence of the Bremers, in which Fredrika in her later life lived in rented quarters; this sketch also depicts something of her manner of life during her different stays,—her residence there was interrupted by prolonged foreign journeys and by residence in Norway and Stockholm. The chapter concludes with a brief account of Miss Bremer's last months, her death and burial. In *Vandrerstäm*, K. J. briefly and in very general terms speaks of Fredrika Bremer's foreign travels. The volume concludes with Selma Lagerlöf's *Mathilda Wrede*, which gives us an account of a woman of later days who was imbued with a spirit akin to that of Fredrika Bremer. Selma Lagerlöf had already in *Mamsell Fredrika* (in *Osynliga länkar*) given a superb picture of the notable woman. The volume contains reproductions of various pictures of Miss Bremer and of a pen-sketch of *Syskonen Bremer*, and also facsimiles of her handwriting.

Another volume from Selma Lagerlöf has just been translated by Velma Swanston Howard, *The Emperor of Portugallia*, announced in this Vol. of *Publications*, p. 234 (Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1916, pp. 323, \$1.50). In this book, as in the second edition of Jessie Brochner's Lagerlöf translation mentioned on p. 235 of this volume of the *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, I would call attention to the difficulty to the reader unacquainted with Scandinavian (and for such the translation is intended) in the pronunciation of proper names (for example, Börje, Jan, Svartsjö, Björn). The volume is well gotten up. On the cover the announcement is given that preparations are being made for the translation and publication of the collected works of Selma Lagerlöf. The American public has reason to be grateful to Velma Swanston Howard and to Doubleday, Page and Company for the good work they are doing.

There has recently appeared from Augustana Book Concern of Rock Island, Illinois, a vocabulary edition of two readers by Hulda Magnusson, *Första Läseboken* (pp. 94, 30 cents, in boards), and of *Andra Läseboken* (pp. 192, 50 cents, in boards). In their present form these books are intended for parochial schools and graded schools. *Första Läseboken*, which was written for children not able to read, can even with the addition of a vocabulary not be used except for those able to read English little, and no Swedish. *Andra Läseboken*, being more advanced, contains some materials that could be used as a first foreign-language reader, but the large amount of religious matter, biblical quotations, hymns, etc., seem to me to make its use impossible except in parochial schools. There are no notes, as the simple language needs no explanations that can not be given in the vocabularies. The vocabularies, which aim to give all forms of all words that occur in the texts, are fairly adequate. A few words occurring in the text are omitted in the vocabulary; as, *amen* (I, p. 80), *fatt* (I, p. 72; given neither alone nor under *fick*, *få*), *stund* (I, p. 72). Several words are in the wrong place alphabetically; as, I, *andra*, *kon*, *änglar*; II, *befallda*, *borde*, *sjunga*, *sedan*. In the vocabulary of II, *behöfliga* is old spelling; it is inconsistent to give the adverb *sant* under *sann*, when *högt* is given as a separate word; there is also inconsistency in *tala* and following words; both *vakta* and *vaktar* are defined as "watch, tend" (cf. under *äta*, *gnägga*); the plural form *öre* (see text, II, p. 67) should preferably not have been defined "pennies." There is an occasional misprint and several cases of irregular use of leading in the vocabulary of II. Both volumes are illustrated. *Andra Läseboken* contains a few songs with notes.

In *Pedagogisk tidskrift* (Stockholm) for August, 1916, pp. 314, ff., J. Pålsson makes some seemingly quite justified remarks on B. Risberg's *Tillägg till en Fänrik Stål-kommentar av R. G:son Berg och I. Hjertén* (*Pedagogisk tidskrift*, 1916, h. 1,2). Pålsson finds most of Risberg's additions unnecessary; they deal with matters that do not need explanation. The writer takes occasion to make on the basis of this a few general remarks on the commenting of text-editions, and says among other things: "Ett av kriterierna på en god skoltextrkommentar är enligt mitt förmenande dess *knapphet*." This statement the writer then proceeds to make clear. While not agreeing with everything that Pålsson says, I am in hearty accord with his advice against overburdening the commentary. Among our Scandinavian text-books for use in this country in the study of Scandinavian, there is as yet, I think, no commentary that is too large, but some of them, notwithstanding their smallness, contain not a few unnecessary notes. Still others are mere fragments of what a commentary should be. An overburdened commentary, as well as one that gives but little necessary help, will encourage its utter neglect by the students. The question of what should and what should not be included depends on various circumstances in the case of each book edited, and it should receive careful thought on the part of editors. Further, our text-books should on the one hand profit by what has been attained in corresponding books for other modern languages; on the other hand, care should be taken not to overlook differences between Scandinavian and the other languages, and differences in conditions surrounding

the study and teaching of Scandinavian and of other modern languages. From the contents of the September number of *Pedagogisk tidskrift* (1916), attention is called to Vilh. Vessberg's *Stockholmska skolförhållanden år 1684*.

Those of our readers who are engaged in teaching Scandinavian (or other modern) languages will be interested in the new periodical *The Modern Language Journal*, of which the first number (pp. 42) appeared in October, 1916. From the contents of this number I would call attention especially to Carl A. Krause's bibliographical account, *Literature of Modern Language Methodology in America for 1915*. The Journal is published eight times a year in New York and Chicago by a Federation of four modern language associations under the managing editorship of E. W. Bagster-Collins. Subscriptions (\$1.50) should be sent to A. Busse, Hunter College, New York.

The Journal *Språk och Stil* contains in its last number (1916, Första—tredje häftet) the following articles: H. O. Östberg, in *Karbon och herbua*, attempts to establish the etymology of the name of Karbomossen. Olof Gjerdman, in *Två utbölingar inom svenska ljudsystem*, gives a detailed account of the nature of the so-called *Viby i* and *y*, a subject about which there is much difference of opinion. In *Skolgrammatiska strövtåg*, J. E. Hylén treats briefly the following matters: 1. Genusböjning hos ord som "statsråd." 2. Kvinnlig tjänsteman i st. f. tjänstekvinna (e. g., Det var fru Tilda man för att bestyra.). 3. Grupp- genitiv. 4. Ovanliga plurala substantivformer. 5. Vacklande verbformer (change of strong to weak, and vice versa). 6. Infinitiv ersatt av supinum genom attraktion. 7. Predikatets numerus vid pluralt subj. och "det" som formellt subj. (e. g., Det kommo två fruar från skogen.). 8. 1600- och 1700-talet. 9. Pronomen före sitt korrelat. Gunnar Rudberg contributes *Några folketymologier*, Sixten Belfrage, *Indelning av komposita från stilistisk synpunkt*, and Elof Hellquist, *Några s. k. pleonastiska bildningar*. Very interesting is R. G:son Berg's *Frödings randglosor till "Svenskan som skriftspråk"*. In the margin of his copy of Cederschiöld's well-known work, Fröding had, perhaps in 1902, written remarks and criticisms which show the poet's views on language, particularly on the relation between spoken and written Swedish. Among many other things he wrote: "För egen del torde jag nu på senare tid ha lämpat mitt samtalsspråk alltmör efter skriftspråket . . ." "Skulle ej i framtiden kunna åstadkommas ett för tal och skrift gemensamt approximativt korrekt språk med det nuvarande talspråkets såväl som skriftspråkets förtjänster men utan deras brister och därtill besittande förtjänster utöver bägges samt rikt både på konkreta och abstrakta ord och uttryck?" On the whole the remarks he makes agree with his nature as we know it, and in part they add to our knowledge of the man. In *Danismer hos Per Hallström*, Henry Olsson gives an account of borrowings from Danish into Swedish since the appearance of Dalin's Dictionary (1850-53) as they occur in Hallström's works. Of the smaller contributions with which the number concludes, I will call attention only to one by R. G:son Berg on *Rimmel -uv, -u hos Runeberg*, in which he replies to an article by Bergroth in Vol. X of *Språk och Stil*.

P. L. Bergström's *Språkmästaren, Förklaringar över 10,000 främmande ord, deras härledning och uttal* (C. A. V. Lundholm A.-B., Stockholm, 1915, pp. 224, kr. 3, bound) should be a welcome book to many both because of the com-

paratively large number of words it contains and because of the moderate price. Unfortunately the book is rather full of misprints (errors in some cases?) in matters relating to the pronunciation, especially in quantity and stress designation. Ekbohm's large work containing 60,000 words costs 13 crowns, and is a large book. Attention might be called here to the excellent little (74 pages) book *Våra vanligaste främmande ord, med uttal och förklaring* av Olof Östergren, the third edition of which appeared in 1912 (*Verdandis småskrifter*, No. 146, Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm), which costs only 25 öre. Besides defining the foreign words, Östergren has as his special aim the assistance of the writer who wishes to find a Swedish equivalent for foreign words that he might otherwise be tempted to use, and with this object in view he has chosen the definitions with the greatest care.

Upplandslagen (Handupplaga), I:Text, utgiven av O. F. Hultman (*Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland*, CXXVII, Helsingfors, 1916, pp. VIII + 203, mark 3), is a welcome addition to texts of Old Swedish. Until now only *Äldre Västgötalagen*, *Östgötalagen*, and *Götlandslagen* had been edited in modern editions more available than those of the Schlyter *Corpus*. The present volume, which contains the text of the law together with textual notes, will be followed by a volume containing a commentary and a vocabulary.

Volume VII of *Studier i nordisk filologi*, utgivna genom Hugo Pipping (*Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland*, CXXIV, Helsingfors, 1915, pp. 100, 160, 114, mark 4) contains *Fornsvenskt lagspråk*, V. *Studier över Äldre Västgötalagen* by Hugo Pipping and *Vidhemsprästens och johannitmunkens anteckningar i Codex Holmiensis B 59* by Hugo J. Ekholm. The latter presents a complete account of the phonology of the documents in question. There are two supplements: I. *Diplomatariskt avtryck av fol. 45 v och fol. 53—56 r i Cod. Holm. B 59* and II. *Ordskatten i Vidhemsprästens anteckningar och Ordskatten i johannitmunkens anteckningar*. The two word-lists give definitions and cite all forms that occur in the texts.

A second edition of the excellent little *Dansk och norsk grammatik* by J. V. Lindgren has recently appeared (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 94, kr. 2:75, bound). Owing to the unsettled condition of Norwegian pronunciation and orthography, most of the changes from the first edition affect the part of the book that deals with Norwegian. The book devotes especial attention to the pronunciation of the two languages, using a slightly modified form of *Svenska landsmålsalfabetet* to represent the sounds; of the 94 pages only 21 deal with forms. At the end of the volume there are several connected passages in phonetic transcription.

There has also appeared a second edition of Nat. Beckman's *Dansk-norsk-svensk ordbok* (P. A. Norstedt och Söners förlag, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 261, kr. 3:25). By omitting words that are identical (or almost completely identical) in form with Swedish and which are not different in meaning, the author has been able to produce a dictionary that for Swedes is very convenient on account of its size. The second edition differs from the first chiefly through the addition of a supplement of eight pages. No extensive changes have been made in the

body of the work except from the beginning of the letter *u* on. From this point on the dictionary is reset, owing to the fact that one of the most important sources, *Salmonsens Konversationslexikon*, had not, when the first edition appeared, been issued farther than through *t*. The valuable list of "Förvillande likheter" has also been materially enlarged.

The Journal *Fataburen* (1916, Häfte 2) contains among other things an article by Martin P:n Nilsson on *Julklappen*, in which the author speaks of the origin of the practise of giving presents at Christmas in Scandinavia as well as of the origin of the word. In a study entitled *Mat och dryck, Hushållsbestyr i Göinge för en mansålder sedan*, Pehr Johnsson gives an interesting account of this side of peasant life. The author points out that in cultural studies it is customary to pay attention to dwellings and clothing, but that eating is usually neglected, except for occasional accounts of festive occasions. The present sketch deals primarily with everyday life; sidelights are thrown on the life of the people also along other lines. Attention is given to table furnishings, the manner of eating, the preparation of food, etc. The article is enlivened by several brief anecdotes and proverbs from Skåne, "möen mad o god mad o mad i rättan ti" being quoted to show that the food-question has received not a little attention in this province. Of the reviews I might call attention to the one by N. E. Hammarstedt dealing with *Folkloristiska och etnografiska studier, I* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland) and one of Lars Levander's *Livet i en ålvdalsby före 1870-talet* (Stockholm, 1914) by Sigurd Erixon. The latest number of *Fataburen* (Häfte 3) contains one contribution,—a notable one, *Skansen 25 år* by Gustaf Upmark. In ninety-eight pages the author gives us here, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the well-known open-air museum, an excellent account of its development. After showing how the idea of Skansen originated and developed in the mind of Artur Hazelius, the author sketches the history of the institution along the lines of "Områdets utveckling," "Kulturhistoriska afdelningen," "Naturvetenskapliga afdelningen," "Folklif och fester," and "Ekonomi." The number concludes with a discussion of "Framtiden." The account is enriched by thirty-seven illustrations, of which all but one or two depict objects contained in Skansen.

A. LOUIS ELmqvist.

CORRESPONDENCE

Since writing the article on "Another Three Notes on Peer Gynt" I have come across several instances of expressions, in the lines of "Åse og jeg," where Åse is the speaker, of which I communicate the three following ones:

In *Gengangere* (*Mindeudg.* 4, 127, Act III) Jacob Engstrand says: Å jo såmæn gør det så. For her står Jacob Engstrand og jeg." And from other writers than Ibsen, Hr. Overlærer Stavnem at Stavanger kindly supplied me with two:

"Jeg vil have hende til kone"—

"Du skal fanden skal du, nu svor Petter Jensen og jeg."

(H. Schultze, *Petter og Inger*. 21de scene.)

"Jo min Siæl er hun virkelig gift med Leander, nu svor Magdelone og jeg," words spoken by Magdelone herself in Holberg's *Henrik og Pernille*. (Act III, Sc. ii.)

It appears, then, that there was no reason for me to doubt "Åse og jeg," and also that Messrs. Archer were wrong in calling it a "peasant idiom." What Prof. Olson means (See Editor's note) by his "disagreement" about "Å dersom jeg bare vidste," I fail to see. I never raised any doubt. The vague reference to Eitrem, *Samtiden* without chapter or verse, is of no use. I do not know of any paper where Eitrem had written about this expression.

H. LOGEMAN.

There were, unfortunately, a number of misprints in Professor Logeman's article, which the author requests corrected as below. Footnotes 1 on p. 214 and 1 on p. 218 are also to be added. (See below).

Page 214, for and Rusticus read et Rusticus

"Paludar " Paludan

" name, l. 10 from the bottom, read same

" Huhn " Huhu

in l. 18, for: all " all¹, and add the following

footnote:

¹ Mens op fra Hjertets Bund han sukked grundig

Sic transit gloria mundi!

(last words of 9de Sang).

Note 1 should be Note 2; delete ¹ before For

Page 215, l. 21, for in read into

l. 5 from b., " Esben

216, l. 1, read exactly; l. 4 delete ⁴

l. 6, after Spurningen, delete period and add and.

l. 26, for "this father, 'Askeladd' read this "father," Askeladd
Over l. 2 from b., move III to middle of page.

217, l. 5, read: I have no one to send with a message

l. 1 from b., after Supplement insert comma.

In Note, l. 5, read severe! Thus in the next line should be thus

218, l. 2, read writing

l. 16, for had read har; so in line 19

- l. 23, for and send read to send
 l. 27, for Nov 20 read Nov. 2
 l. 6 from b., read 1914)¹ and insert the following footnote: ¹And see my forthcoming booklet: *Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt, Textual Criticism*.
 Page 219, l. 4, for Aa read a, and in l. 5 cancel or Aa and read Å for Åa.
 l. 10, for inspection read inspections
 l. 20, read Folkeudgave
 l. 26, for what read that
 l. 5 from b., for ugd. read udg. and for nagtet read uagtet
 220, l. 3, for tör read tår; l. 4, for klör read klår
 l. 10, for vieill read vieille, and for angles read ongles
 In the note for see Eitrem read referring to Eitrem in, etc.
 for vidde read vidste
 After the note read—Editor.

G. T. F.

Prof. George T. Flom, University of Illinois.

Dear Sir:—

Will you kindly publish the following letter in the publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian study?

In his review of my volume of translations of Fröding, Mr. Ernst W. Olson, objects that the work could not have been "favorably passed upon by the Publication Committee of the American-Scandinavian Foundation." I wish to apologize herewith for the form in which my acknowledgment to the Foundation was expressed. The Foundation authorized me to do a volume of Swedish translations for them, on which I am now at work. As this was done on the strength of the Fröding translations, I assumed that the Foundation endorsed them. I afterwards learned that had my work been published by them it would have been carefully revised.

I regret that in my enthusiasm for Fröding I took into account rather the form in which the poem would appear before an English-reading audience, than that accuracy which the scholar ought never to neglect. The mistakes to which Mr. Olson very justly calls attention will be remedied as far as possible in the revised edition, which is now in prospect.

The volume has been treated unusually kindly as a whole, and even most of the Swedish readers have thought that its power of rendering the spirit of Fröding in English verse more than compensated for the inaccuracies of translation.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES WHARTON STORK.

Logan, Philadelphia.

THE DIRECT METHOD APPLIED TO THE TEACHING OF SCANDINAVIAN IN AMERICA

Although there has for some time been much discussion in this country about methods of modern language teaching in general and especially with reference to German and French, there has not yet been published any study dealing with methods of language teaching with reference to the Scandinavian languages in American schools. To my knowledge the subject has not even been alluded to, except for a brief statement covering half a page in Miss Michelet's article *The Scandinavian Languages in Modern Language Study in the Schools*, which appeared in the *Publications of the S. A. S. S.*, Vol. III, p. 213, ff.

I need hardly say that it is of the greatest importance that our teachers of Scandinavian, those in high schools and colleges as well as in other schools, keep in close touch with the publications and discussions about modern language teaching. Perhaps some teachers of Scandinavian are a little too much inclined to think of "modern languages" as including only French and German, or in any case as excluding the Scandinavian languages. Our own organization and its publications should give us materials of more *direct* value for the teaching of Scandinavian than other modern language organizations and other publications can give, but many of the ideas expressed by persons working with other languages will either be useful for Scandinavian as well or they will suggest new ideas that will result in progress. It would be unwise for the teachers of Scandinavian to go back and pass through anew the development in language teaching that German and French language teaching has passed through during many years of plodding. We should establish for ourselves a foundation based on the present attainments of other modern language teaching and to this we should add, profiting day by day from the experiences of others as well as of ourselves. Much can be gained, then, if our teachers, besides keeping in close touch with their own organization, its meetings and published contributions, will also affiliate themselves with other modern language organizations and will look for suggestions and ideas in the growing literature on related subjects.

Some of our teachers may feel tempted to dismiss this matter with the thought that, as the Scandinavian languages are elected

almost entirely by persons already more or less familiar with the language concerned, the problems are entirely different, or with the thought that it is not strictly—in most cases—foreign language teaching. That there still are teachers who have not yet come to realize that Scandinavian teaching in this country is very different from the teaching of Scandinavian in Scandinavia is probably best shown by the fact that there are still a few teachers of Scandinavian who use in elementary classes grammars written for students in the schools of Sweden and Norway, probably later editions of the very book the teacher studied in those schools. It should be clear to everyone that the fact that so many of the students are already partially familiar with the languages does not free us from the problems of foreign language teaching though it may modify them. Moreover, as Professor Flom remarks somewhere in this number of the *Publications*, it is to be hoped that the Scandinavian languages will even more than now be the case be elected by persons not of Scandinavian descent. Nothing can help us more toward that end than the attainment of a high degree of perfection in methods of teaching.

The older method of teaching modern languages, modelled on the method used in the teaching of the classical languages (but which does not today stand uncontested even in this field), consists primarily of a detailed study of theoretical grammar, too often studied for its own sake, and of translation from and into the foreign language. This method is now being supplanted, gradually, to be sure, by one known as the *direct method*; this emphasizes the acquisition of a good and fluent pronunciation as a fundamental requirement, the attainment of the ability to understand the foreign language without the medium of translation (as we read and understand our native language), and some conversational attainments. Grammar is studied inductively from the texts read, and only as an aid towards the ends mentioned. Composition exercises as well as translation from the foreign language, not being conducive to the results aimed at, are not resorted to; at a late stage in the study of the language, if anywhere, there is a place for such exercises, but their object then becomes an entirely different one. It is aside from my purpose in this article to give more than a bare suggestion of what the nature of the direct method is. For more detailed and practical expositions of this question, I refer the reader to such recent publications as:

Carl A. Krause, *The Direct Method in Modern Languages* (Scribners, New York, 1916), E. Prokosch, *The Teaching of German in Secondary Schools* (Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 41, Austin, Texas, 1915), and Carl Schlenker, *Bulletin for Teachers of German* (The University of Minnesota, Current Problems, No. 8, Minneapolis, 1916). These publications also contain extensive bibliographies of modern language methodology. Attention might also here be called to a quarterly journal devoted to the problems of the direct method which is mentioned in my Notes in this number of the *Publications*.

The opinion has been expressed (I am referring in part to Miss Michelet's article mentioned above) that the direct method has little or no application in the case of the Scandinavian languages as studied in this country under existing conditions, that is, by students more or less familiar from the start with the language studied. The reason given is that the ends we desire to attain would be seriously neglected under that method,—that what we need to combat is a slipshod and probably superficial knowledge of the languages concerned, and that we must pursue a method that holds the student down to very definite things. Now, I agree that slipshod teaching and learning is only too possible under the direct method, but good, definite, effective teaching is also possible, while also other methods of language teaching too frequently produce weak results. In other words, the difficulty does not lie in the method. I do not doubt but that those who speak of the necessity of holding the student down to definite things usually have in mind the grammar, theoretical grammar. But is not the detailed and accurate application of the grammatical principles in question far more important than the theoretical knowledge,—which, it should be understood, does not necessarily mean the ability to use them freely or even at all? What our Americans know of (American-)English grammar is, as we all know, very little, and yet they speak their language fluently and intelligibly,—in fact they are a part of the great body of language users who determine what this language is. The situation last mentioned could conceivably never exist in the case of speakers of Scandinavian in this country with reference to the languages of Scandinavia, but has it been proven (and not rather the contrary) that theoretical knowledge of grammar leads to fluent mastery of any language? The grammar teaching should be made practical, which does not

mean that it becomes in any degree less definite, nor that the grammatical requirements become less exacting. No doubt many a parent, perhaps remembering his own early studies in grammar, desires his children to study Scandinavian "to learn the grammar"; if I may make only one of various possible comments on this, the parent usually does not have in mind the same thing when he thinks of Scandinavian grammar as teachers of Scandinavian, dealing with the language from the American point of view, do. Our students are already fairly familiar with general grammatical system.

I think the question of what method it is best to use should not be discussed until one has clearly in mind the purpose of the language course. The aim is not the same in all countries and for all languages, nor for all conditions. For German and French in this country, especially in classes that are made up principally of students who do not know anything of these languages in advance, the end in view should, in my opinion, be the acquisition of a reading knowledge which, based on a good and fluent pronunciation, would enable the student to understand without the medium of translation a previously unseen reading passage of a degree of difficulty that corresponds somewhat with the degree of advancement of the student; that is, that he would be able to read and understand a new passage in the foreign language just as he would read and understand an English passage that had for him a corresponding number and degree of difficulties. In my opinion this is a high enough aim (as far as the mere language learning is concerned, and, if carried out far enough, as a basis for later literary study); it is an aim that is not frequently attained as a direct *result* of the grammar-translation method, though it may be achieved in spite of the method. The direct method does lead directly toward this end, and its various devices should be so employed as most effectively and most quickly to lead to the desired result. Conversational ability need, in my opinion, not for this country be an aim in itself, but as conversational practise leads directly and effectively toward the acquisition of a good reading ability, there should be much talking of the foreign language by the students; although it need thus not here be set down as an end in itself, the student cannot fail to attain a considerable conversational ability.

What is the end desired from the study of the Scandinavian languages in this country? While the students are so prevalingly Scandinavian-speaking, and in so close association with Scandinavian-speaking persons, it would not be possible to confine ourselves to the acquisition of a reading knowledge (using the word reading knowledge in the sense indicated above, that is, the ability to read the language concerned approximately as the student reads English). In addition to a good and fluent pronunciation and a reading knowledge, which, like the matters about to be mentioned, can with our students usually within a given period of time be developed to a point of proficiency much higher than that usually attained by students of French and German, it seems to me that we should expect the following attainments: (1) fluent conversational ability, because there will be both necessity and opportunity for this in the student's later associations as well as in visits to the Scandinavian countries, which are more likely to take place than are visits to France or Germany on the part of the student of these languages; (2) the ability to translate from Scandinavian accurately and into idiomatic English, for which there may well be plenty of occasion; (3) the ability to translate from English into idiomatic Scandinavian for the same reason. I need hardly call attention to the desirability of learning as much as possible about the country concerned and its people, their history and institutions, and this from the very beginning of the course. When the students have attained a good reading knowledge of the language, they should proceed to the study of literature as such, but not before. For the attainment of the reading knowledge only such texts should be read as best lead to that end; works whose importance for the student lies chiefly in their literary study should not be undertaken until the student has acquired the foundation as stated. The various matters to which I have just called attention are of equal importance also for the study of other languages. I have not mentioned grammar here, and the reason is that grammar knowledge cannot be considered an end in itself in a language course of this kind. Grammatical study can only help toward the attainment of the aims stated above. To a certain small extent grammatical knowledge could, perhaps, in the case of Scandinavian languages in this country be considered as a possible end in itself; it would seem to me that theoretical knowledge of the grammar might to a very limited extent be of

practical value to the students in later life, not exclusively, although chiefly, in helping somewhat to perpetuate their language. The value that such knowledge would have in this direction is, however, trifling, and the knowledge that the student gains in the Scandinavian course where the other ends mentioned are attained will be more than sufficient for situations of the kind referred to. For good direct method teaching does not neglect grammar; it teaches it in a different way and omits matters that do not lead toward the goal.

It is not my purpose to discuss at the present time the merits of the direct method as a language method; for such discussions I must refer the reader to the publications mentioned above and to the not inconsiderable literature noted in the bibliographies contained in them. It is my own conviction, however, that foreign language teaching, to attain reasonably good results along the lines indicated, must follow pretty well the principles of the direct method.

And what I want to say chiefly in this brief article is that I can see nothing in the details of the direct method that cannot be used in the teaching of Scandinavian under present conditions. Some of the details of the method have to be employed differently, of course, more attention must be paid to some phases and less to others than in the case of other modern languages, the first year classes will not be very uniform in the stage of advancement, "preparation" of the next day's reading lesson in class would probably in no case be necessary (since most of the students already have the non-translating attitude), in general the students will be on a different plane, the treatment of pronunciation will be complicated partly because of the necessity of eradicating Scandinavian dialectical traces, and partly owing to the already fixed Americanization of sounds, etc. In using the direct method for Scandinavian in this country, one must, accordingly, take account of the difference in the results desired, as compared with those of other modern language study, and one must also consider the different plane of the student, the somewhat uneven make-up of the class, and other conditions. There is no danger that the work will be over-easy for the student if the course is carefully planned in advance to suit existing conditions.

The direct method condemns translation, both composition work and translation from the foreign language, as not leading

toward the desired ends. But it does not condemn translation when this is relegated to its proper place. It should be undertaken much later than has usually been the case, and only after the student's knowledge has been developed sufficiently along other lines. Work in translation must not be undertaken with false ideas as to what end it leads toward:—the chief end of translation, if not necessarily the only one, is the development of facility in translating. When, in the plan of the course, it is considered desirable to attack the problem of making the student proficient in the art of translation, that is the time to have exercises of this kind. For Scandinavian that time would normally come sooner, perhaps, than for German or French (under ordinary conditions).

The student should, then, before approaching translation into English or composition, in the first place have a thorough foundation in pronunciation; this should be made to accord with the best standard of the country concerned both in the matter of sounds and of stress and accentuation (distinction between acute and grave accent), all of which would of course not be employed mechanically, but in accord with the meaning of the texts read. As already pointed out, the pronunciation of those already partially acquainted with the language would have to be watched both from the point of view of dialect and of Americanisms. Secondly, the student should develop a good ability to read and understand the language studied (if possible, not only the language of *belles lettres*,—in addition in any case the language of the newspapers). For students who already possess the ability to read and understand without thinking of English equivalents, and practically all of those who can read at all will be in this category, the chief concern will be to increase the vocabulary and to make as many as possible of the new words they meet into an active vocabulary. The latter will be accomplished principally through the medium of conversation, which is the third point. The students will in their conversation work and in their reading among other things learn Scandinavian words for many ideas to express which they have been in the habit of using American loans; these Scandinavian originals, and many other words that will extend their previous home-vocabulary, they will practise and make their own. Both reading and conversation work (which should be well-directed) will of course go hand in hand with the study of the grammar and training in forms and syntax. Scandinavian,

under existing conditions, should prove to be an excellent field for the inductive study of grammar. And extensive written work (paraphrases of text, answers to questions, etc.) together with much conversational work—especially the latter—will most effectively fix in the student's mind all the details of grammar to which there is any necessity of his devoting his attention. As I have already pointed out, I cannot see that it is necessary in any degree to condemn the direct method for Scandinavian on account of the need of emphasizing details and of holding the student to definite things;—they can in this way be held down to definite things by actually learning to apply them, and not merely learning them. Whatever can not be learned in this way is not worth learning as a means toward the desired end; such inapplicable materials would belong only in a late study of grammar for its own sake. The grammar instruction can without difficulty be conducted in the foreign language, in fact there is an especial gain in doing so, because the student then becomes familiar with the style of books of this type, differing so much from the style and language of most of the literature that will be read in the course, as well as from the conversational style of the oral work.

At a later stage the written work takes the form of freer composition, reproduction, etc., and the conversation can even at an early stage, for Scandinavian, take the form of connected reproduction of text. Only after satisfactory proficiency has been attained along all the lines mentioned should the turn come to translation from Scandinavian into English and from English into Scandinavian, and the purpose of such exercises should be clear both in the mind of student and teacher. Practise in translation into English does, of course, as Miss Michelet points out in the article to which attention has been called above, also exercise the student in his English, especially in the choice of synonyms, for which it is excellent training. But to make that in any degree a reason for a more favorable opinion about the use of translation as a class exercise seems to me to be most undesirable. The aim is *proficiency in the foreign language*. It is a fact, moreover, that translation in class is practised chiefly as a means for finding out how well the student understands the meaning of the day's assignment in reading. The direct method not only has as its main issue the avoidance of the interpretation of the foreign language through the medium of the native language, considering this

detrimental, but it also provides a means for testing the student's knowledge of the assignment and at the same time drilling him in the application of grammar and exercising him in the use of words.

Much that appertains to the direct method it has not been possible to mention here even in its application to the teaching of Scandinavian,—for instance, dictation exercises, loud reading of the lesson in home preparation (in regard to this, see the brief contribution on *Directions for the Study of a Foreign Language Reading Lesson* in this number of the *Publications*), etc.

Having, as we do, both in graded schools, high schools, and colleges almost exclusively teachers of Scandinavian who are able to speak fluently the language they teach (though unfortunately some Swedes are attempting to teach Norwegian, and vice versa) it seems to me that we have right now the best opportunity to lay a good foundation in effective teaching of our languages. Such a result cannot be accomplished without close attention to pedagogical matters nor without hard work.

I have in this article merely wanted to call *attention* to methods of teaching, and especially to the use of the direct method; I hope this will arouse both thought and discussion. I have not wished dogmatically to assert that the direct method *is* the best method for foreign language instruction, although I am convinced that it is, nor have I wanted to imply that my interpretation of this method in its application to Scandinavian is more than a first fragmentary suggestion along this line. But I have tried to emphasize the desirability of our determining for ourselves, and as soon as possible: (1) what the aims of Scandinavian teaching in this country are and (2) how those aims can best be attained.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE READING LESSON

As I have pointed out in my article on *The Direct Method Applied to the Teaching of Scandinavian*, most of our Scandinavian students (it would be interesting to know the percentage) have, when they begin the Scandinavian course, already the ability to read and understand without translating a passage in their Scandinavian language that in difficulty is suited to their stage of advancement; that is, most of them are able to understand some Scandinavian (whether or not they have actually had practise in reading it), and practically all of these who can understand it, read it in the proper way, that is, they read the Scandinavian as they would read English, and they do not translate it to get the meaning.

There are, however, in our classes frequently enough students who are not on the same basis as the greater part of the class, and in such a mixed class it is desirable to level matters in such a way that the students who cannot understand Scandinavian, or who cannot understand it without translating, acquire the same method of reading as the rest of the class possesses. For such cases the following directions on how to study a foreign language reading lesson should be of value, especially as it will rarely be possible to make the class entirely fit the level of the more elementary type of students. Also the other students may here find something or other of value. I originally prepared these directions for students studying other languages than Scandinavian, and they are intended especially for students entering courses above the elementary course and who have not through the use of the direct method (or by accident in some other way) acquired the proper method of reading. To teachers who may find the following directions of value to students or classes, I should suggest having them multigraphed and distributed among the students.

The directions as printed herewith contain nothing new or striking. But some of our teachers may have felt the desirability of giving their students suggestions of this kind, and for such I may have lightened the burden of arranging the material for themselves.

(1) First read through the entire assignment silently, without consulting vocabulary, dictionary, or notes, and without thinking of English equivalents (that is, *without translating*). The object

of this reading is as far as possible to understand the meaning of the text; make an effort by close concentration to get increasingly good results from this rapid reading, but do not feel uneasy if much of the meaning remains unclear.

(2) Then go through the assignment sentence by sentence as follows, *without translating in any instance*: Read the first sentence silently; then,

(a) if the meaning is clear, read the sentence aloud at your natural speed (the speed with which you normally read English), taking care as to good pronunciation and good intonation (good intonation = use of stress, pitch, and quantity in accordance with the sense of the passage read). The meaning of what you thus read should be clear to you as you read along. Then pass on to the next sentence, treating it in the same way.

(b) if the meaning is not clear, then do not give up at once, but reread the sentence several times silently. If the sentence contains no unfamiliar words or idioms, the meaning will in almost all instances become clear from the repeated reading. If the sentence does contain unfamiliar words or idioms, the context will in very many cases make clear their meaning. If the meaning becomes clear, then read the sentence aloud in the manner stated under (a), and pass on.

(c) if the unfamiliar words or idioms do not become clear from the context after repeated readings as stated under (b), then look up the meaning of these words or idioms in the vocabulary and notes (but do not write the meaning between the lines). When the meanings that fit the context of the sentence as you already know it are thus clear in your mind, then *do not translate*, but reread the sentence silently, repeating the reading if the meaning of the whole sentence is not clear at once. Then read the sentence aloud in the manner stated under (a), and pass on.

(3) When the whole assignment has been gone through in this way, then read the whole assignment through once silently for the meaning. Thereupon read the whole assignment through once aloud. If time permits, read it through aloud more than once. The loud reading should be done as stated under 2 (a). While the pronunciation during the connected loud reading should be at least as good as the loud reading of isolated sentences was, the *intonation* should be much better. Never let the loud reading

approach the level of a mere ramble of words; that the meaning of what you read shall be clear to you as you read along is the fundamental requirement.

NOTE 1. Whenever time permits, the following modification of the method of study outlined above should be used *after* the whole assignment has been read silently as stated in (1): Read the first paragraph (stanza, or part in a play) through silently. Then go through the paragraph sentence by sentence as outlined in (2). Thereupon read the paragraph first silently and then aloud. Then go on to the next paragraph. Finally read the whole assignment silently and aloud as stated in (3).

NOTE 2. Loud reading may in any instance be substituted for the silent reading if you are able to concentrate as well on the meaning of what you read when you read aloud as when you read silently. But in no case is silent reading to be substituted for the loud reading.

NOTE 3. It is very important that the preparation of the reading lesson as outlined above should be completed in one continuous period of study. Interrupted study will lead to much inferior results, though the total aggregate of time spent be the same.

NOTE 4. In the class recitation, as far as the reading assignment is concerned, the student is responsible for: (1) the meaning (*not* in English translation), and (2) the ability to read it aloud correctly and fluently, and with such intonation that the reading shows that the student knows the meaning and that he is able to follow the meaning as he reads aloud.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO A SWEDISH GRAMMAR

For some time I have had the desire to publish certain remarks concerning details in my *Elementary Swedish Grammar* (Chicago, 1914), but I have refrained from doing so, because I did not want to anticipate possible reviewers and thus take away from them points that they might wish to call attention to. As, however, after a lapse of over two years, the book has not to my knowledge been reviewed except in brief general statements, I herewith offer a few notes and corrections in addition to those given on page 322 of the *Grammar* itself. Parenthetically, before proceeding to details, I might announce that during the year 1917 I shall begin the publication in this *Journal* of a series of studies dealing with present-day Swedish grammar which will make necessary and possible various modifications and the giving of additional and more definite information in not a few matters in our Swedish grammars.

Page 14. The heading of the second column should read "Treated Elsewhere," not "Treated Earlier."

§§ 29—32. My experience has shown that, partly owing to my accidental choice of *brun* as an illustration in § 29, the student easily gets the impression that the common-gender form of adjectives ends in *-n* (as is common in pronouns, etc.; see §§ 30—32).

Page 50. In the note preceding the vocabulary, the plural forms *böcker, söner, and städer* should be inserted in parentheses after the proper words.

§ 112. Speaking of the genitive of proper names I say: "In writing, however, an apostrophe is very frequently (but less now than formerly) used to indicate the case." Observation during the reading of many recent Swedish books would now lead me to say that the apostrophe is not frequently used.

§ 140. We read: "In the condition of a conditional sentence, the conjunction *om* if, may be omitted." It should be added that this can be done only when the conditional clause begins the sentence. But this is not to be applied also to the similar omission in hypothetical comparisons (*Du kommer, som vore du kallad.*).

§§ 139, 140. The word-order of the verb has in my grammar been presented in the usual way, running parallel also to the customary method of presentation in grammars of German. The chief matter that needs comment in Swedish is the so-called inversion, which in Swedish (as in German) is far more common than it is in English. In my colleague Professor Curme's *First German Grammar* the word-order of the verb is presented quite differently and without the necessity of using the word inversion. If we apply the system there used to Swedish we could present Swedish verb-order about as follows: "The finite form of the verb occupies either the first or the second place in the sentence. (A) It stands in the first place (a) in questions (unless the subject is an interrogative word or is modified by an interrogative word and unless the question contains *männe* or *ju*), (b) with the imperative, when the subject is expressed, (c) in wishes of certain types, (d) in conditional clauses beginning a sentence, when *om* is not expressed, and in clauses of hypothetical comparison, when *om* is not expressed. (B) The finite form of the verb stands in the second place in both principal and subordinate clauses of declarative sentences, and in other cases not included under A. The subject normally stands in the first place in the sentence, but any part of the predicate except the finite form of the verb may

be put in the first place, in which case the subject is placed directly after the verb; the verb must stand in the second place. In subordinate clauses it is not common to put any part of the predicate before the finite form of the verb, and therefore the subject almost always stands before the verb in these." This method of presentation appeals to me as being in some ways better than the usual one, and I have given it here, in the event that some teacher may prefer it and may be able to give students some real feeling for the matter involved, rather than merely the mechanical rule.

§ 148. I state pretty fully in § 147 when the definite form of the adjective is used, and in § 148 we read: "In all other cases the indefinite form is used with attributive adjectives. Predicate adjectives are always put in the indefinite form." Students, in my experience, usually ask which the "other cases" are. It might therefore be added in the former sentence: "i. e., when there is no article, an indefinite article, an indefinite pronoun, or an interrogative pronoun. An example of the latter (it is a little difficult to construe examples that are not awkward) is: ". . . jag kan icke säga vilken underlig drömmande stämning som kunde betaga mig" (Per Hallström, *Levande dikt*, p. 47). But I think it important to emphasize the fundamental distinction, that of the definite or indefinite meaning of the *noun*, for which an unerring *feeling* should be developed; this is pedagogically far better than the learning of the list given in § 147 or of that here proposed for § 148. The use in Swedish of the terms "definite" and "indefinite" form of the adjective therefore suggests the fundamental principle, which the names "strong" and "weak," used in German, where the conditions are different, would not do.

§ 181. In suggesting to the student that the supine be derived from the past participle, it is not unknown to me that intransitive cursive verbs have no past participle (see § 240, note 1), though they do have a supine.

§ 201, note 1. Instead of "*i*," read "short *i*." Further, omit "*giva* and." The sentence then reads: "The vowel of the supine of all regular strong verbs is the same as that of the infinitive, except that it is changed to *u* in all verbs having in the infinitive short *i*, or *y* or *ä* (except in *åla*)."

§ 208, note 2. It might be advantageous, in speaking of the vowel of the subjunctive in *funne* (cf. *fann*, *funno*), to call attention to the English subjunctive "were" (cf. "was," "were").

§ 261, 2. I have found an example of the rather rare use of *komma att* (= "happen to") in the present tense in Signe Taube's *Gunnar Wennerberg*, Vol. I, p. 71: "Jag kommer att tänka på något gammalt florentinskt konstnärsporträtt när jag nu i tankarna frammanar hans gestalt."

§ 264, note 9. An example of the use of the form *självo* with a neuter noun, outside of the phrases *av (för) sig själv* is: "Min fader, kunde jag icke komma på annat sätt till Romeo, skulle jag ha mod att vandra utan fruktan genom helvetet själv." (Per Hallström, *Levande dikt*).

§ 279. I state: "This pronoun (*den*, used as a relative) is rare as indirect object." I have a definite impression that in my recent reading of Swedish books I have repeatedly seen the relative *den* used in the relation of an indirect object, that is, that this use is not so rare as the statement in my grammar (based in this case, if I remember correctly, on *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*) would lead one to believe. I shall quote here one of the sentences I have recent-

ly noted down that illustrate the point: ". . . åtskilliga satser, dem jag skulle vilja giva en efter min mening lyckligare formulering" (Sylwan, *Studier i svensk värs*, p. 6).

Appendix V. Of the books mentioned in the bibliography as being in press or in preparation, my *Swedish Phonology* (Chicago, 1915) and my edition of Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (Rock Island, 1915) have now appeared. Olof Östergren's Swedish-Swedish dictionary, entitled *Nusvensk ordbok*, has begun to appear, three numbers, or about one-eighth of the whole work, already having been issued. For a review of this most commendable book, see an earlier number of these *Publications of the S. A. S. S.* The publisher is Wahlström och Widstrand, Stockholm. Of other works mentioned in the bibliography as being in process of publication, various numbers have appeared. Several additions should be made to the list of text-editions published and in preparation, but it will suffice to refer the reader for the titles of these to notes and reviews that have appeared in this publication since the middle of 1914.

In the Vocabulary, it should be indicated under the word *pronomen* that *e* changes to *i* in forming the plural with *-er*: *pronominer*. Under the word "English" there should be given details corresponding to those given under "Swedish." Under "spread" the word "intransitive" should be inserted after the semicolon. Under "into," add *i* as a definition.

I have noted a few misprints of various kinds, but there is no need of calling attention to any of them here, as they do not affect the understanding of the passages concerned.

I shall at all times be grateful to users of my grammar, as of my other textbooks, for criticisms and suggestions of all kinds. To those who have given me such in the past, especially to Professor Egge of Pullman, Washington, it may not be out of place for me to express my gratitude here.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

